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Haihayas of Tripuri
by
R.D. Banerji

PREFACE

The idea of writing out the chronology of the Haihaya kings of Tripurī was suggested to me in May 1919 by Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. (Retired) of Allahabad, at present the Head of the Pāṇini Office and the Editor of the Series of Sanskrit Texts published by that Institution. Major Basu pointed out to me that practically no investigations had been carried out in the whole of the Rewa State since the retirement of Sir Alexander Cunningham. Acting on [illegible] I applied to the late Mr. P. B. Warburton, I.C.S., then Political Agent, [illegible] Agency, and with his help succeeded in revising and exploring all [illegible] Archæological sites in the Rewa State situated in the northern [illegible] Parganas. I found it impossible to visit the antiquities in the forest-covered tracts lying to the east of this State, but I am deeply grateful for the help received from Mr. P. B. Warburton, and his successor in the Baghelkhand Political Agency, Major E. J. Colvin, I.A. In the Rewa State my programme was mapped out for me by Dewan Bahadur Pandit Janaki Prasad, M.A., LL.B., who had served for a long time under the late Maharaja Venkata Ramana Singh Bahadur, as his Private Secretary, and who was working as Home Member of the Council of Regency of the Rewa State in 1920. Pandit Janaki Prasad's intimate knowledge of the State is unrivalled, and with his help I was able to discover three unknown dated inscriptions of the Haihaya chiefs, which have helped materially in the construction of the chronology of that dynasty. I am also very greatly indebted to Rai Bahadur B. N. Zutshi, President of the Council of Regency of the Rewa State in April 1920, for help in various directions connected with my investigations. Finally I am indebted to Sir John Marshall, Kt., C.I.E., Litt. D., F.S.A., for permission to reproduce the text of four of the unpublished inscriptions which are being published in the Epigraphia Indica separately.

by
R. D. BANERJI.

POONA;
4th December 1922.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE HAIHAYAS OF TRIPURI AND THEIR MONUMENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Chronology.

IN the beginning of the tenth century of the Christian Era a chief named Kōkkalla, or Kōkkala, founded a powerful kingdom in the eastern part of Central India, in a country which had been formerly ruled over by the Vākāṭakas, the Parivrājaka chiefs and the chiefs of Uchchhākalpa, after the decline and the fall of the Guptas. The earliest notice of this prince is to be found, not in the inscriptions of his sons or grandsons, but in those of the descendants of his son-in-law Krishṇarāja II of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty of Mānyakhēṭa. It is stated in the Cambay plates of Govinda IV, the great-grandson of Krishṇarāja II, that Akālavarsha (Krishṇa II) married "the daughter of Kōkkala, the ornament of the dynasty of Sahasrārjuna" (V. 13) who became his chief queen and from whom was born Jagattuṅga (V. 14). In the next verse it is stated that "from the ocean (*viz.*) Raṇavigraha, son of Kōkkala, who was grave (*as the ocean is profound*) who was a receptacle of gems (or of excellences) (*as the ocean is a store-house of gems*), who was capable of protecting kings from (*their*) foes (*as the ocean is capable of sheltering mountains from their adversary*, viz., Indra), there was born (*a daughter named*) Lakshmī (*as from the ocean sprang up the goddess of wealth*) (V. 15).

"She became the wife of that king who had no enemy (*and*) who was possessed of the ornament (*consisting of*) fame acquired by Arjuna who had a terrific army (*as*) *Ajātaśatru*, i.e., Yudhishṭhira, was adorned by ornament (*which was*) fame earned by Bhīmasena or Arjjuna (V. 16).

"From King Jagattuṅga there was born a victorious prince, son of Lakshmī endowed with valour (*as*) from the eastern mountain, the highest in the world, there rises the sun, full of heat (V. 17).

"Truly he was Indrarāja, whose arm was thrust forth for the destruction of the partizans of all Kings swerving from lawful conduct (*and*) who was fit to be seen with untwinkling eyes, (*as the god Indra*) discharged his thunderbolt

to cut off the wings of all mountains swerving from their motionless condition (*and*) is fit to be seen by (*the gods whose eyes*) do not twinkle (V. 18).

"That Kōkkalla who was mentioned (*as belonging*) to that family of the illustrious Haihayas, who brought down the pride of Daśakantha (Rāvaṇa), had a son named Arjuna, pre-eminent in virtue. His (Arjuna's) son, who was exceedingly strong, was Ammanadeva. From him was born Vijāmbā, as Lakshmī (*was produced*) from the ocean and Umā from the lord of the mountains called Himavat (V. 20).

"To the glorious king Indra was born by that Vijāmbā a son, the prince named Govindarāja, the beauty of whose form excelled that of Kāma."[1]

Further it is known from the Kharda plates of Kakkarāja II of the Śaka year 894 that Jagattuṅga, the son of Krishṇarāja II, married two daughters of his maternal uncle, Śaṁkaragaṇa, named Lakshmī and Govindāmbā. From Lakshmī was born Indra III, who succeeded his grandfather Krishṇa II and from Govindāmbā was born Amōghavarsha III, who came to the throne after his nephew Govinda IV, the son and successor of Indra III. Amōghavarsha III married Kuṇḍakadēvī, a daughter of Yuvarājadeva I, the grandson of Kōkkaladēva I, who had succeeded to the Chēdī throne after his father Mughdhatuṅga Prasiddhadhavala.

Thus, three kings of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty of Mānyakheta married the daughters of the Chēdi kings of Ḍāhala, and the later Rāshṭrakūṭa princes were all descended from Kōkkala I, on their mother's side. The earliest inscriptions of the Chēdī dynasty, which contain references to the founder, Kōkkalla I, are the Bilhari inscriptions of the rulers of Chēdī and the Benares plates of Karṇa. From the Bilhari inscription, which gives a detailed account of the origin of the dynasty, which ruled the eastern part of Central India for four hundred years, it is known that the Haihayas were descended from the moon (V. 7)[2].

In the 8th and 9th verses there is a mention of Sahasrārjuna who was born in the same family. After Sahasrārjuna the first prince mentioned is Kōkkalladeva. Six verses are devoted to him in this long inscription out of which four have no historical value. In the 16th verse it is stated "And when the elephants of his army, while he occupied the slopes of the Vindhya, excited with rut, were breaking (*the trees*) the forest, with its swarms of birds unmelodiously chirping, cried out as if with pain.

"Having conquered the whole earth he set up two unprecedented columns of his fame, in the quarter of the pitcherborn (Agastya) that well-known Krishṇarāja and in the quarter of Kuvēra, Bhōjadēva, a store of fortune" (V. 17).

Four verses are devoted to Kōkkalladeva in the Benares grant of Karṇa in which it is stated that he was born in the Haihaya lineage (V. 5), that he protected Bhōja, Vallabha, Śrī-Harsha, the king of Chitrakūṭa and Śaṅkaragaṇa (V. 7) and that he married the princess Naṭṭā of the Chandella family (V. 8). The late Professor Kielhorn while editing the Benares plates of Karṇadeva

[1] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VII, pp. 43-44.*
[2] *Ibid, Vol. II, p. 255.*

made the following remarks about verse 7; "According to verse 7, the hand of this prince Kōkkalla granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Vallabharāja, the illustrious Harsha, who is described as the sovereign of the Chitrakūṭa, and to the king Śaṅkaragaṇa. It does not seem difficult to identify these four contemporaries of Kōkkalla. From verse 17 of the Bilhari inscription we know that Kōkkalla, having conquered the whole earth, 'set up two unprecedented columns of his fame'—in the south the well-known Kṛishṇarājā, and in the north Bhōjadēva; and in commenting on that passage I have already adopted Sir A. Cunningham's suggestion that the former of these sovereigns can only have been the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II, who married a daughter of Kōkkalla, the king of Chēdi, and who reigned from A.D. 875 to about A.D. 911, and the latter, Bhojadeva of Kanauj for whom we have the dates A.D. 862, 876 and 882. Now Kṛishṇa II also bore the name of Kṛishṇavallabha and it is therefore clear that the Bhoja and Vallabharāja of the present inscriptions are the Bhojadeva and Kṛishṇarāja of the Bilhari inscription. The proper identification of the illustrious Harsha is suggested both by the circumstance that he is called the sovereign of Chitrakūṭa, and by the fact, to be mentioned below, that Kōkkalla's wife was a Chandella princess; for as Chitrakūṭa is a well-known locality of Bundelkhand, which was ruled over by the Chandellas, Harsha must be the Chandella Harshadeva, the successor of Rāhila and predecessor of Yaśovarman. It is true we have no absolutely certain date for the reign of Harshadeva, but, since he apparently had dealings with Kshitipāladeva of Kanauj for whom we have the date A.D. 917, and as his grandson Dhaṅgadeva was on the throne in A.D. 954, he undoubtedly must have ruled about A.D. 900, and must certainly have been a contemporary of Kṛishṇavallabha. Lastly, the Saṁkaragaṇa of our inscription I believe to be Kōkkalla's own son (also called Raṇavigraha) whose daughter Lakshmī was married to Kṛishṇavallabha's son Jagattuṅga. One of the Ratnapura inscriptions tells us that the Chēdī ruler Kōkkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the first born was ruler of Tripurī while the others became lords of *maṇḍalas;* and it does not seem at all improbable that Kōkkalla, already during his life time, may have assigned part of his dominions to Saṁkaragaṇa one of his younger sons, to be governed by him independently. With all these coincidences I can only endorse the conclusion arrived at by Sir A. Cunningham, that the reign of Kōkkalla, who, as we shall see below, was Kōkalla I., may be fixed with certainty at the period between 860 and 900 A.D."[1]

The opinion expressed by Dr. Kielhorn in 1894 is liable to certain modifications in the light of discoveries made during the last quarter of a century. In the first place, the known dates of Amōghavarsha I range from 817 to 877 A.D., while those of his son Kṛishṇarāja II, also known as Akālavarsha Śubhatuṅga, from 902 to 911 A.D.[2] Thus there is a long gap between the known dates of the father and the son. This gap is rather unusual in the first part of the rule of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, when their power was

[1] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, pp. 300-01.*
[2] *Ibid, Vol. VIII, App. II, p. 3.*

in the ascendant in the Deccan and shows that there were internal troubles or quarrels about the succession after the death of Amōghavarsha I. It was probably about this time that Kōkkalladēva I assisted Kṛishṇarāja II, who had already become or subsequently became the former's son-in-law. It is not possible yet to express any opinion as to how Kōkkalla founded his own kingdom in the north. But very probably he assisted Kṛishṇarāja to ascend his father's throne, when he had acquired a principality for himself. The genealogical table given below shows the intimate relationship which subsisted between the Haihayas of the Chēdī Country and the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa.[1]

The next point of importance is the connection between the Chēdīs and the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj or Mahōdaya. The disputes about the chronology of this dynasty of kings have been settled during the last two decades by recent discoveries, and the best account is to be found in a long paper by the late Dr. V. A. Smith.[2] It is now impossible to admit that the Bhōja, whom Kōkkalla planted in the north as a pillar of victory, was Bhōja I, grandson of Nāgabhaṭṭa II. The certain dates of Bhōja I range from 836-882 A.D. and the late Dr. V. A. Smith assigned an approximate reign of fifty years (840-890 A.D.) to this prince. It is also known now that Bhōja I had his capital at Kanauj, where it was removed from Bhillamāla (modern Bhinmal) in the desert country. It is therefore next to impossible to admit that Bhōja I was assisted to the throne by Kōkkalladeva I. Bhōja I was succeeded on the throne by his son Mahēndrapāla I, in whose time the eastern limit of the Gurjara empire extended as far as the heart of Bengal.[3] After his death he was succeeded by his son Bhōja II, whose existence is proved by his mention in the grant of Vināyakapāla, issued in V. S. 988=931 A.D.[4] In this grant it is stated that Bhōja II was the half brother of his successor Mahīpāla I. Mr. V. A. Smith assigns a very short reign to this prince (908-10 A.D.). It is therefore evident that Bhōja II of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra dynasty of Kanauj was a contemporary of Kṛishṇa II of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty of Mānyakheṭa. Most probably there was a struggle for the succession after the death of Mahēndrapāla I, when Kōkkalla I succeeded in raising Bhōja II to the throne, by crushing the opposition.

Of the other princes mentioned in the Benares plates of Karṇṇadeva, Harshadēva is no doubt the Chandēlla Harshadēva, the ruler of the country around the Chitrakūṭa Mountain, who was related by marriage to Kōkkalla I. Dr. Kielhorn identified Śaṁkaragaṇa with Kōkkalla's son of the same name, which is not convincing in the absence of any other proof. A chief named Śaṁkaragaṇa is mentioned in an unpublished Buddhist inscription of the tenth century A.D. discovered at Kasia in the Gorakhpur District, and now in

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[1] See Appendix A, p. 116, below.

[2] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1909, pp. 53-76 ; 247-81.*

[3] *Report of the Patna Museum for 1920-21, App. F, p. 44.* An inscription mentioning a *Paramēśvara Mahendrapāla* has been discovered in a village named Itkhauri Bhaduli, proving that the whole of Magadha had been conquered from the Pālas during the reign of Mahēndrapāla, *cf. Pālas of Bengal, Mem. A.S. B., Vol. V, pp. 59-66* and *Indian Antiquary, 1918, Vol. XLVII, pp. 1-3, cf.* also the inscription on a pillar at Paharpur dated in the 5th year of Mahēndrapāla *A. S. R., 1925-26, p. 141.*

[4] *Indian Antiquary, Vol. XV, p. 140.*

the Lucknow Museum,[1] and this chief appears to be the same person as that to whom Kōkkalla I extended the hand of protection.

The real cause for which Krishṇarāja II required the assistance of Kōkkalladēva appears to have been his wars with the Eastern Chālukyas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Gujarat. We learn from the Ideru plates of Vishṇuvarddhana VI that Vijayāditya III, surnamed Guṇaka, "who at the instigation of the Lord of the Raṭṭas after conquering the king of the Gaṅga countries, who was famous for his unequalled array of elephants, cut off the head of Maṅgi in battle and thus obtained honour by the great prowess............ After leading away the terrified and the afflicted he, the Lord, totally burnt his enemy's city."[2] The translation does not contain the name of the enemy but the text specially mentions Krishṇa.[3] Commenting on this passage Dr. Fleet stated: "*L* tells us that 'challenged by the Lord of the Raṭṭas, he conquered the unequalled Gaṅgas; cut off the head of Maṅgi in battle; and frightened the firebrand Krishṇa and completely burnt his city.' The killing of Maṅgi and the burning of the city of Krishṇa are also spoken of in *M*.[4] *M*[5] is a grant of Vishṇuvardhana VII, surnamed Chālukyabhīma II, discovered at Paganavaram in the Madras Presidency. In this grant Vijayāditya is stated as one who was famous for the killing of Maṅgi and the burning of a place called Kiraṇapura." According to Dr. Fleet Kiraṇapura is a mistake for Krishṇapura.[6] The Krishṇa in question must be the Rāshṭrakūṭa king and the city must be Malkhed. There seems to be another reference to him in *U*. "*U* is another grant, of Vijayāditya VI surnamed Amma II[7] which states that king Vallabha did honour to the arms of Vijayāditya III. And it is probable in connection with some earlier event of this reign involving on this occasion a defeat of the Eastern Chālukyas that we must understand the statement in the Sirur inscription that worship was done to the Rāshṭrakūṭa Amōghavarsha III by the Lord of Vēṅgī."[8] According to the Ideru plates, Krishṇa himself was frightened and his city burnt by the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya III. According to the 13th verse of the Cambay plates of Govinda IV, "the enemies of Akālavarsha, harassed by his prowess, abandoned their shields (*Khēṭaka*) and their swords, along with the leaders of their circles." The editor of the Cambay plates wrongly identifies Khēṭaka with Mānyakhēṭa. "After Amōghavarsha I, the throne was occupied by his son Akālavarsha (Krishṇa II), of whom verse 13 says that his enemies abandoned the city of Khēṭaka which in my opinion is here meant to denote Mānyekhēṭa itself, the capital of the Rāshṭrakūṭa princes." There is no authority for Dr. Bhandarkar's identification of this Khēṭaka with Mānyekhēṭa, the capital of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Khēṭaka is very well-known to be the modern Kaira and has been

[1] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVIII, pp. 128-37.*
[2] *Indian Antiquary, 1883, Vol. XIII, p. 53.*
[3] *Ibid, p. 51.*
[4] *Ibid, Vol. XX, p. 102.*
[5] *Ibid, Vol. XIII, p. 213.*
[6] *Ibid, Vol. XX, p. 102, Note 26.*
[7] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VII, p. 186.*
[8] *Indian Antiquary, Vol. XX, pp. 102-03.*

mentioned in several copper plates of the kings of Valabhi:—(1) Lunsadi plates of Śilāditya III-G. E. 350[1] and the (2) Gondal plates of Śilāditya V issued from Khēṭaka.[2] We find the word Khēṭaka also in the Nimsari plates of Karkarāja of Śaka 738,[3] the Baroda plates of Dhruvarāja I of the Śaka year 751[4] and the Cambay plates. The editor of the Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV understood the difficulty of the identification proposed by him, and in a foot-note he states: "Verse 13 is also susceptible of another interpretation. Khēṭaka may be taken to denote the modern Kaira, and the term *maṇḍala* to refer to the surrounding district. If so, the verse must be understood as containing an allusion to Kṛishṇa II's having supplanted the subordinate branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty, reigning at Khēṭaka. But the word *parityakta* implies that Khēṭaka, before it was occupied by his enemies, was under the sway of Kṛishṇa II, and that when it was so occupied, he by his prowess compelled those enemies to evacuate it. But the Rāshṭrakūṭas of the subordinate branch did not occupy Khēṭaka and the surrounding district at any time during Kṛishṇa II's reign but were ruling over it long before him. Again, the word *ahita* as applied to these tributary Rāshṭrakūṭas does not seem to be appropriate. They are referred to as *Sulkika-Rāshṭrakūṭas* when their rebellion against Amōghavarsha I is mentioned (*Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 183*, and *Vol. XIV, p. 199*). Again, they are spoken of as *bāndhavas* when their disaffection towards the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Dhruva II is alluded to (*Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 184*). But in no case is the word *ahita* or its synonyms used to denote them. For these reasons the second interpretation does not commend itself to me as easily as the first, suggested in the text. The latter is much more probable because we know that Mānyakhēṭa was once occupied during Kṛishṇa II's life-time by the Eastern Chālukyas, who can, with propriety, be called his *ahitas* inasmuch as they were the mortal enemies of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty."[5] The subtle arguments adduced by the editor of the Cambay plates are absolutely unnecessary. It is immaterial to consider whether Khēṭaka was being ruled by the Rāshṭrakūṭas of the subordinate branch for a long time before Kṛishṇa II or not. The word *parityakta* simply denotes that they were obliged to evacuate this city during the reign of Kṛishṇa II. The word *ahita* may be applied indiscriminately to all mortal enemies and an agnate may be a more bitter enemy than the non-agnate. It is certain that Prof. Bhandarkar has not produced any reliable evidence in support of his proposal to identify the Khēṭaka mentioned in the Cambay plates with Mānyakhēṭa, and therefore the proposed identification may be rejected. The Rāshṭrakūṭas of Gujarat had rebelled against Amōghavarsha I, the father of Kṛishṇa II, and it is evident that the trouble with the subordinate branch of the family continued right up to the time of Kṛishṇa II. Sometime during this reign, these Rāshṭrakūṭas of the subordinate branch were compelled to evacuate Khēṭaka;

[1] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, p. 76.*
[2] *Journal of the B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XI, p. 335.*
[3] *Ibid, Vol. XX, p. 135.*
[4] *Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIV, p. 197.*
[5] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VII, p. 29, note 3.*

the modern Kaira, by Krishṇa II. There is therefore clear evidence of two distinct wars during the reign of Krishṇa II. One of these is the war, during which the Eastern Chālukya King Vijāyāditya III advanced so far west as Mānyakhēṭa and burnt it. It is even now uncertain whether the city burnt was Mānyakhēṭa itself or some other town named Kiraṇapura. The late Prof. Kielhorn was inclined to support the latter view. The statement in the Ideru plates, however, seems to indicate that the city burnt by Vijāyāditya III was the capital of Krishṇa. Kōkkalla I of the Chēdī dynasty must have come and supported his son-in-law during these troublesome times, when he was at war both on the northern and southern frontiers of his kingdom. The long interval between the known dates of Amōghavarsha I (817-77 A.D.) and those of the son Krishṇarāja II (902-11 A.D.) indicates a troublesome period, when the Rāshṭrakūṭa King was at war with his neighbours. We do not know anything about the relationship of Bhōja II of Kanauj with Kōkkalla I. but most probably he was also a son-in-law of the Chēdī King. Nothing is known about the extent of either the reign or the dominions of Kōkkalla I. He is not referred to in recently discovered inscriptions of the Chēdī dynasty, such as the Goharwa plates of Karṇṇadēva,[1] in which the genealogy begins from Lakshmaṇarāja, the great-grandson of Kōkkalla I, or in the Khairha plates of Yaśahkarṇṇadēva,[2] where the genealogy begins from Yuvarāja II, son of Lakshmaṇarāja.

The Benares plates of Karṇṇadēva state that Kōkkalla I married Naṭṭādevī of the Chandella lineage (V. 8). He was succeeded by his son who is named Prasiddhadhavala in the 10th verse of the Benares plates. The same personage is called Mugdhatuṅga in the Bilhari inscription.: "From him then was born Mugdhatuṅga than whom nobody is more exalted in the three worlds and who, desirous of conquering the quarters, when he had overthrown the enemies, what country did he not make his own ?" (V. 18). Six verses are devoted to him in the Bilhari inscription, out of which the last two convey some important historical details about this prince. "To Malaya his thoughts wandered, because it is there that the waves of the sea are playing, because it is there that wind is blowing which causes the Kerala women to sport, because there the serpent is stealing the fragrance of the trees." (V. 22).[3] Now it is a far cry from the Chēdī country to Malaya. Evidently Mugdhatuṅga Prasiddhadhavala had taken part in some of the southern expeditions of his brother-in-law, Krishṇa II. The long wars of Krishṇa II with the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgī are well-known and reference has already been made to the burning of the capital of the Rāshṭrakūṭas by Vijayāditya III. After Vijayāditya III, Krishṇa II overran the country: "He, the assailant of the universe Śrī Vijayāditya, reigned over the country of Vēṅgī for forty-four years. After that the Province of Vēṅgī was overrun by the army of the Raṭṭa claimants, as if by dense darkness on the setting of the sun."[4] The war evidently continued for a long

[1] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XI, pp. 139-46.*
[2] *Ibid. Vol. XII, pp. 205-17.*
[3] *Ibid, Vol. I, p. 265.*
[4] *Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII, p. 221.*

time as, after the Rāshṭrakūṭa occupation of Vēṅgī, Vijayāditya III's successor Chālukyabhīma I claimed to have conquered Krishṇa-Vallabha, *i.e.*, the Rāshṭrakūṭa Krishṇa II. The details of the actual war in the Malaya Country or the name of the prince with whom it was fought are not known to us yet.

The next point of interest in the Bilhari inscription is the conquest of a place named Pāli from the king of Kōśala. "Having conquered the lines of country by the shore of the eastern sea and having taken Pāli from the lord of Kōśala, having uprooted the dwellings of enemies one after another, he was a most splendid master of the sword." (V. 23).[1] This village, Pāli, is evidently the same as the modern village of this name, 27 miles from Bilaspur in the Central Provinces. The lord of Kōśala mentioned in this case appears to have been one of the Sōmavaṁśī kings of Mahākōśala or Southern Kōśala who are also called the Guptas of Mahākōśala.[2] An inscription of the other branch of the Chēdīs or Haihayas of Ratnapura mentions that Kōkkalla I had eighteen sons of whom one was made the lord of the Kōśala *maṇḍala*. "In the race of these Haihaya Princes was born a ruler of Chēdī, the illustrious Kōkkalla, an image of the god of love whence all derived delight; by whom (being) on earth, in order to measure his own fame, how much it might be, this———— of (?) Tritasaurya was sent up high into the universe (V. 4). He had eighteen sons who destroyed the enemies as lions do elephants (and) who increased...... The first born son among them afterwards was ruler of Tripurī and he made the remaining brothers lords of Maṇḍalas[3]" (V. 5). It may thus be seen that the Ratnapur inscription of Jājalladēva I corroborates the statement of the Bilhari inscription of the rulers of Chēdī, because in the next verse it is stated that Kaliṅgarāja, a descendant of one of the younger brothers of Mugdhatuṅga Prasiddhadhavala, conquered southern Kōśala. "The race of one among these younger brothers in the course of time obtained an unequalled son Kaliṅgarāja, a tree of prowess grown large, by the water of the eyes of the wonders of his enemies, who, in order not to empoverish the treasury of Tritasaurya, abandoned the ancestral land and acquired by his two arms this country Dakshiṇa Kōśala."

Nothing else is known about the eldest son of Kōkkalla I, who evidently is Mugdhatuṅga Prasiddhadhavala. He was succeeded by his son Bālaharsha about whom also nothing is known from any other inscription except the Benares copper plates of Karṇṇadēva. All other inscriptions, including the Bilhari inscription, omit his name. In the Benares plates he is described only in one verse in which it is stated that he became a king, leaving no doubt, therefore, as to the fact that he had succeeded his father on the throne. Bālaharsha was succeeded by his younger brother Yuvarājadēva I, about whom the following facts can be gleaned from the Bilhari inscription:—"From him was born that

[1] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I, p. 265.*

[2] *Descriptive List of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, *pp. 23 and 112.* There is another Pāli in the Allahabad District, where the grant of Mahārāja Lakshmaṇa of the Gupta year 158 was discovered. If this Pāli is referred to in the Bilhari inscription then the "lord of Kōśala" must be the king of Kanauj—*Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I, p. 363.*

[3] Ratnapur inscription of Jājalladēva I, *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I, pp. 34-37.*

observer of prudent behaviour, Keyūravarsha, who fulfilled the ardent wishes of the minds of the women of Gauḍa, who was a deer to sport on those pleasure hills—the breasts of the damsels of Karṇāṭa (*and*) ornamented the foreheads of the women of Lāṭa, who engaged in amorous dalliance with the women of Kāśmīr, (*and*) was fond of the charming songs of the women of Kaliṅga" (V. 24). "Up to Kailāsa, the intensely lustrous friend of Pārvatī's play, and up to the noble eastern mountain over which the sun shines forth, near the bridge of the waters and as far as the western sea, too, the valour of his arms brought endless anguish on hostile people." A Khajuraho inscription mentions the fact that Yaśōvarman once defeated the Chēdīs. "She bore to him that frontal ornament of princely families, the illustrious king Yaśōvarman, who was a sword to (cut down) the Gauḍas as if they were pleasure creepers, equalled the force of the Khasas, (and) carried off the treasure of the Kōśalas; before whom perished the Kāśmīra warriors, who weakened the Mithilas, (and) was as it were a god of death to the Mālavas; who brought distress on the shameful Chēdīs, who was to the Kurus what a storm is to trees, (and) a scorching fire to the Gurjaras[1]" (V. 23). This conflict between Yaśōvarmadēva and his relations, the Chēdīs may have taken place at the time of the succession to the throne of Yuvarājadēva I. There is no doubt about the fact that Yuvarājadēva himself was a powerful prince, who had carried the Chēdī arms to other countries. He had moreover fortified himself by marrying his daughter to Amōghavarsha III of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty of the Deccan. Vijāmbā, a daughter of his cousin Ammaṇadeva, who was a son of Arjuna, one of the younger sons of Kōkkalla I had married Indra III, the grandson of Kṛishṇarāja II, who himself was born of a grand-daughter of Kōkkalla I. The marriage of the daughter of Yuvarājadéva I, Kuṇḍakadēvī, is mentioned in the Kharda plates of Kakkarāja II of the Śaka year 894.[2]

With the exception of the synchronism between Yuvarājadēva I and his son-in-law Amōghavarsha III, no certain dates of the former have been discovered yet. Now Amōghavarsha III was a grandson of Kṛishṇarāja II and therefore a younger brother of Indrarāja III. He succeeded his nephew Govindarāja IV, whose certain dates range from 918 to 933 A.D. For Amōghavarsha III himself, there are two certain dates: 937 and 939 A.D. It may therefore safely be admitted that Yuvarājadēva I came to the throne in the second quarter of the tenth century A.D. His first war was with the Gauḍas, *i.e.*, with the Pālas of Bengal. About this time the Pāla kingdom, or what was left of the empire of Dharmmapāla, was in the hands of the weak successors of Nārāyaṇapāla, namely, Rājyapāla, Gōpāla II and Vigrahapāla II. Most probably Gōpāla II was a contemporary of Yuvarāja I. A reference to Yuvarājadēva I's war in the Gauḍa country is to be found in the Gurgi inscription of the Śaiva abbot Prabōdhaśiva where "aquatic jewels" and "water forts" of the Gauḍa country are mentioned. The war in the Karnatic country, referred to, probably took place, when Amōghavarsha III, the son-in-law of Yuvarāja I succeeded his

[1] Khajuraho inscription of V. S. 1011, *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I, pp. 126-132.*
[2] *Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII, p. 265.*

nephew Govindarāja II. The reference to the Yuvarājadēva's wars in Lāṭa, *i.e.*, Gujrat and in Kashmir are more vague. It cannot be determined as yet who held Gujrat at this time. Most probably it was held by a subordinate branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family but no inscriptions of this collateral branch, dated in the first half of the tenth century A.D., have been discovered. In Kashmir, the kings who reigned in the second quarter of the tenth century are Chakravarman (923-33 A.D.), Śūravarman I (933-934), Śambhuvardhana (935-36 A.D.), Chakravarman (936-37 A.D.), Unmattāvantī (937-39 A.D.), Śūravarman II (939 A.D.), and Yaśaskara (939-48 A.D.). But the Rājataraṅgiṇī does not mention any war during this period with the rulers of the Chēdī country.[1]

During this period Central India was convulsed by the wars between the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānyekhēṭa and the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj. It is stated in the Cambay plates of his son Govinda IV, that Indra III occupied Ujjayinī, crossed the river Yamunā and devastated the city of Mahōdaya, *i.e.*, Kanauj. "The courtyard (*of the temple of the god*) Kālapriya (*became*) uneven by the strokes of the tusks of his rutting elephants. His steeds crossed the unfathomable Yamunā, which rivals the sea. He completely devastated that hostile city of Mahodaya (also the highly prosperous city of his enemy), which is even today greatly renowned among men by the name of Kuśasthala (also a spot of mere Kuśa grass)[2]" (V. 19). This statement in the Cambay plates of Govinda IV is not an empty boast about Indra III, as Narasiṁha, a feudatory of Indra III, pursued the Gurjara king Mahīpāla I who was no other than Mahīpāla, the son of Mahēndrapāla, as far as the confluence of the Ganges. According to the *Karṇṇāṭaka-Śabdānuśāsana* by Bhaṭṭa-Kalaṅkadēva, Narasiṁha "snatched from the Gurjara king's arms the goddess of victory, whom though desirous of keeping, he had held too loosely. Mahīpāla fled as if struck by thunderbolts, staying neither to eat or rest nor pick himself up, while Narasiṁha pursuing, bathed his horse at the junction of the Ganges and established his fame.[3]" The conquest of the Gurjara capital by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king marks the beginning of the decline of the suzerainty of the Gurjaras. It was during this time of universal unrest throughout India that Amōghavarsha III gave his daughter Revakanimmaḍi, the elder sister of Kaṇṇaradeva, *i.e.*, Kṛishṇarāja III, in marriage to Permānaḍi Būtayya, *i.e.*, Būtuga II of the Western Gaṅga dynasty and added as her dowry the districts known as the Puligēṟē 300, the Beḷvōla 300, the Kisukāḍ 70 and the Bāge 70. According to the Hebbal inscription this marriage took place during the reign of Kṛishṇa, II[4], but the spurious Sudi plates of Būtuga say that this marriage took place when Amōghavarsha III was in the country of Ḍāhala in the very city of Tripurī. "His younger brother, possessed of prosperity and wealth acquired by his own arm, went to the glorious Baḍḍega, the favourite of the earth, in the country of Ḍāhala, and then, being of the most excellent understanding, wedded his daughter

[1] Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Chronicles of the Kings of Kashmir, Vol. I, pp. 102-104.*
[2] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VII, pp. 38, 43.*
[3] *Karṇṇaṭaka-Śabdānuśāsana, edited by Lewis Rice, p. 26.*
[4] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, pp. 350-52, 354.*

along, of a verity, with the maiden Eloquence, at Tripurī" (L. 48)[1]. According to the Deoli and Karhad plates of Kṛishṇa III of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty, this Būtuga, called Bhūtārya, was placed on the throne in the place of Rācha-malla I by the former prince. The interference of Kṛishṇa III in the affairs of the Western Gaṅga kingdom appears simply to be due to the fact that Būtuga or Bhūtarya was the brother-in-law of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king. The statement of the Hebbal inscription, that Kṛishṇa II, Akālavarsha, was alive and reigning when Būtuga, surnamed Satyavākya Koṁgunivarmman, was married to the daughter of Amōghavarsha III is impossible to believe, because Kṛishṇa II ceased to reign before Śaka 836=914 A.D. and there are no certain dates for Kṛishṇa II after Śaka 833=911 A.D. Kṛishṇa II, then, must have died some time between 911 and 914 A.D. Kṛishṇa III must have placed Būtuga on the throne of the Western Gaṅgas after he succeeded his father Amōghavarsha III, *i.e.*, some time after Śaka 855. The actual event is mentioned in plates which were issued in Śaka 862 and 880. This marriage cannot therefore have taken place in the life-time of Kṛishṇa II, because the succession of Būtuga II to the Western Gaṅga kingdom must have happened some time between Śaka 855 and Śaka 862 (933-40 A.D.), over twenty years after the death of Kṛishṇa II. A Kanarese inscription discovered at Jura in the Maihar State confirms the statement of the Deoli and Karhad plates. This inscription is now used as a lintel of a modern house. Its characters are South Indian and its language, Kanarese. Its object, according to the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, is to record all the *virudas* of Kṛishṇa III. It is certainly the northernmost record in the Kanarese language and was found in a place about one thousand miles to the north of Kanarese speaking tracts in South India. Most probably it formed part of a pillar of victory set up by king Kṛishṇa III to mark the northernmost limit of his campaign, after defeating the Haihaya king of Tripurī. Numerous fragmentary records of Kṛishṇa III have been found in the western part of the Central Provinces which formed part of the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom and of the ancient kingdom of Mālava, but even these lie about two hundred miles south of Jura.[2]

It is not known what part the Chēdī kings played in the wars between the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Gurjaras. This long war did not terminate with the reign of Indra III, as Kṛishṇa III claims to have inflicted a defeat on the Gurjaras of the north. Yuvarājadēva built a large number of temples at Gurgi and at other places, a detailed account of which will be found in Chapter II. He married a lady of the Chālukya family named Nohalā, a daughter of Avanīvarmman. Yuvarāja I was succeeded by his son Lakshmaṇarāja, of whom we possess only one inscription which is the earliest record of this dyansty. This inscription was discovered on a stone at Karitalai, a village in the Murwara subdivision of the Jubbulpore District, in the Central Provinces. From this record we learn that the minister of Yuvarājadēva I was a Brāhmaṇa of the

[1] *Indian Antiquary, Vol. III, pp. 179, 182.*

[2] *Descriptive List of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, p. 185.*

Bhāradvāja *gōtra* named Bhākamiśra. His son, Sōmēśvara, was the minister of Lakshmaṇarāja. We also know from this record that the name of Lakshmaṇarāja's queen was Rāhaḍā and that he had a son named Śaṅkaragaṇa, whom we know from other inscriptions to have succeeded Lakshmaṇarāja in the Chēdī kingdom.[1] We learn from the Bilhari inscription that Lakshmaṇarāja defeated the Lord of Kōśala and made an offering of an image of the *Nāga* Kāliya, worked with jewels and gold, which he had obtained from the Prince of Ōḍra[2] to the god Sōmēśvara. He is also stated to have bathed in the sea and worshipped Sōmēśvara, which is Sōmanātha near modern Verawal in Kathiawad.[3] The lord of Kōśala mentioned in the Bilhari record may be either the lord of Southern Kōślala, *i.e.*, the so-called Guptas of the Central Provinces or it may be the Gurjara king of Kanauj. In this particular case the lord appears to have been the Gurajara-Pratīhāra king of Kanauj, because Lakshmaṇarāja is referred to in the Kahla plate of the Kaḷachurī Sōḍhadēva of V. S. 1134. In this record it is stated that Sōḍhadēva was descended from a younger son of Lakshmaṇarāja, who had conquered the Śvētapada country.[4] In this record it is stated that Lakshmaṇarāja succeeded his elder brother who conquered Kālañjara. The name of this elder brother has not been discovered as yet. Lakshmanarāja is referred to in a verse in the Benares plates of Karṇṇadēva but no historical information is to be derived from it. The next mention of Lakshmanarāja is to be found in the Goharwa plates of Karṇṇadēva, where it is stated that Lakshmaṇarāja defeated the Vaṅgālas, the king of the Pāṇḍya country, despoiled the lord of the Lāṭa country, *i.e.*, Gujarat, defeated the lord of the Gurjaras and was worshipped by the heroes of Kāśmīra.[5] This statement in the Goharwa plates is corroborated by the almost contemporary Bilhari inscription and therefore cannot be disregarded. The statement in the Kahla plates also corroborate the theory that Lakshmaṇarāja fought with the Gurjara king of Kanauj, who is referred to as the king of Kōśala in the Bilhari inscription. At this time Lakshmaṇarāja seems to have placed one of his sons in charge of a tract of country conquered from the Gurjaras to the north of the Gandakī, from whom the Kaḷachūrīs of Kōśala were descended. The dynasty lasted till the rise of the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj, after which nothing more is heard about it. The word *Vaṅgāla* no doubt means Bengal proper and the reference is to a war with the Pāla king of that country. This raid also, like the raid of Yuvarāja-dēva, must have happened during the occupation of Magadha by the Pratīhāra-Gurjaras, when the Pāla kingdom was confined to Bengal proper, during the reigns of Rājyapāla, Gopāla II and Vigrahapāla II. It is not known who was the king of Gujarat at this time. A separate reference to Gujarat and another to the king of the Gurjaras shows that a portion of Gujarat had at that time

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[1] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, pp. 174-79.*

[2] *Ibid, Vol. I, pp. 260-268.*

[3] *Ibid, Verse 61.*

[4] A country of this name is mentioned in a newly discovered copper plate grant of one Yaśovarmman, a feudatory of the Paramāra king Bhōja I of Mālava. The grant is not dated.

[5] *Ibid, Vol. XI, p. 142.*

slipped away from the control of the Gurjaras. The kings of the Gurjaras at this time appear to have been some of the numerous weak successors of Mahīpāla I, *i.e.*, (a) Devapāla who was reigning in 948 A.D.[1] and in 951 A.D.,[2] (b) Mahīpāla II who was reigning in 955 A.D. and is known from a mention in the Bayana inscription of the Yādava Queen Chitralekhā of the year V.S. 1012,[3] (c) a third prince was Vijayapāla, the son of Mahīpāla I, who is known from the Rajor inscription of 1016 V.E.=960 A.D.[4]

Lakshmaṇarāja had two sons and at least one daughter. The sons were Saṅkaragaṇa and Yuvarājadēva II, while the name of the daughter was Bonthādēvī, who was married to the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya IV. This relationship is mentioned in the Kauthem plates of Vikramāditya V. Taila II, the son of Bonthādēvī, who defeated and overthrew the last Rāshṭrakūṭa king, reigned for 24 years from Śaka 895=973 A.D. Lakshmaṇarāja can therefore be said to have reigned in the second quarter 10th century A.D. With the exception of this synchronism no further data for fixing the date of Lakshmaṇrāja are available at present. It is stated in the Bilhari inscription and the Benares plates of Karṇṇa that Lakshmaṇarāja was succeeded by his son Śaṅkaragaṇa; but this prince is omitted in the genealogy given in the Goharwa plates of Karṇṇadēva. Śaṇkaragaṇa is also mentioned in the Karitalai stone inscription of his father's minister Sōmeśvara. No historical facts can be gleaned about this prince from the Bilhari inscription or the Benares plates of Karṇṇa. Another short inscription, which was incised during the reign of this prince, was discovered by Cunningham at Chhoti Deori in the Jubbulpore District.[5]

Śaṅkaragaṇa was succeeded by his younger brother Yuvarājadēva II, who is known as the moon of the Chēdī country (*Chēdī-Chandra*). No details are available about the reign of this prince in whose reign the Bilhari inscription of the rulers of Chēdī was chiselled, but he is mentioned in the Benares and Goharwa plates of Karṇṇa and the Khairha plates of Karṇṇa's son Yaśaḥkarṇṇa.

A period, in the chronology of the kings of the Chēdī dynasty, has been reached when their power was at its lowest ebb. Śaṅkaragaṇa, his brother Yuvarājadēva II and the latter's son Kōkkalladēva II appear to have confined their attentions to the country around their capital Tripurī. Vākpatirāja II, of the Paramāra dynasty of Mālava, claims to have conquered Yuvarāja II in battle and occupied Tripurī, the Chēdī capital. "Who (Vākpatirāja II) conquering Yuvarāja (Yuvarāja II) and slaying his generals, as victor, raised on high his sword in Tripurī."[6] According to the Karanbel inscription of Jayasiṁhadēva, Yuvarājadēva II is said to have worshipped Sōmēśvara after having conquered all the cardinal points. This is evidently a confusion, the composer

1 *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I, p. 177.*

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1919, p. 43.*

4 *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, p. 266.*

5 Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. XXI, Part I, p. 159, Pl. XXVIII.*

6 Udaipur Prasasti of the kings of Mālava, *Epigraphia Indica, Vol I, pp 235-37.*

of the *praśasti* having misapplied the epithets applicable to Yuvarāja I to his grandson Yuvarāja II. Another defeat of the Chēdī kings is recorded in the Miraj plates of Jayasiṁha II. In verse 29 it is stated that Tailapa II defeated the Huṇas. Māravas and Chēdīs.[1] This verse is omitted in the Nilgund plates of Vikramāditya VI.[2] As Tailapa was Lakshmaṇarāja's daughter's son he must have been the contemporary of his maternal uncle Yuvarāja II whom he defeated. According to an inscription from Mahoba. Vidyādhara of the Chandella dynasty is said to have been worshipped by Bhōjadēva, *i.e.* Bhōja I of Mālava and Kalachūrī-Chandra. who is perhaps the same as Chēdī-Chandra *i.e.* Yuvarāja II.[3] The Bilhari inscription was incised during the reign of Yuvarāja II and this period represents the highest pinnacle to which the influence of the Śaiva ascetics in this country had attained. Kōkkalla II. the son and successor of Yuvarāja II. is mentioned in the Benares and Goharwa plates of Karṇṇadēva. the Khairha plates of Yaśahkarṇṇadeva, the Bheraghat inscription of Alhaṇādēvī and the Karanbel inscription of the time of Jayasiṁhadēva. But in none of these inscriptions is any information of historical importance. regarding this prince, to be found.

Kokkalla II was succeeded by his son and successor Gāṅgēyadēva, the founder of the empire of the Chēdī kings. Unfortunately for us. only one inscription of this prince has been discovered up to date and this inscription too has not been properly edited. It is incised on the *arghapaṭṭa* of a *liṅga* in the bed of a river at Piawan. in the northern part of the Rewa State, a place difficult of access even now. as it is far from road and railways. Two things are certain : that this inscription contains a date and the name of the king Gāṅgēyadēva. The date has been read as (Kaḷachurī-Chēdī) Samvat 789=1038 A.D. According to the mutilated inscription from Mahoba now in the Lucknow Museum, Gāṅgēyadēva was a contemporary of Vijayapāla of the Chandella dynasty, the son and successor of Vidyādhara and the grandson of Gaṇḍa. The date of the end of Gāṅgēyadēva's reign is known from the Benares plates of his son Karṇṇa, according to which the first annual Śrāddha ceremony of Gāṅgēyadēva was performed by him on the second day of the dark half of Phālguna. a Saturday of the Kaḷachūrī year 793, and the grant given on the ninth day of the same month, a Monday, corresponding to 18th January 1042 A.D. It must then be admitted that Gāṅgēyadēva was ruling in the first half of the 11th century A.D. It was about this time that Rājyapāla. the successor of Vijayapāla and Rājyapāla's successor Trilōchanapāla were ruling at Kanauj. The defeat of Rājyapāla at the hands of Maḥmūd has been described by the late Dr. V. A. Smith. Rājyapāla is no doubt the same as Rai Jaipal of the Muhammadan Historians.[4] In 1018 Sultan Mahmūd after sacking Mathurā invested Kanauj. Rājyapāla lacking courage to defend his capital made little or no resistance and presently tendered his submission. "Mahmud, having

[1] *Epigraphia Indica Vol. XII, pp. 311-12.*
[2] *Ibid, p. 152.*
[3] *Ibid, Vol. I, p. 219.*
[4] Elliott's *History of India, Vol. II, pp. 41-46.*

become master of all the seven forts in a single day, gave his soldiers license to plunder the city and take as many prisoners as they desired. Those inhabitants who had not either escaped or been reduced to slavery were put to the sword and the temples were destroyed, but the city as a whole was not razed. In the spring the Sultan in his wonted fashion returned to Ghazni with his spoil and captives.

"Gaṇḍa, the Chandel rājā of Jejākabhukti and Kālañjar, was indignant at the want of spirit shown by Rājyapāla, who had submitted tamely to the foreigner, withdrawn from Kanauj, and moved his court to Bārī on the other side of the Ganges.

"The rulers of several other Hindu States sharing the dissatisfaction felt by Gaṇḍa, formed an alliance with him for the purpose of punishing the recreant Rājyapāla. The allies, who included Arjuna, the Kacchwāha raja of Gwālior, placed themselves under the command of Vidyādhara, the Chandel crown prince, son of Gaṇḍa, captured Kanauj, and slew Rājyapāla. These events must have taken place in the hot weather of 1019 A.D., after the departure of the Sultan and before the break of the rains. The dishonoured throne of Kanauj and Bārī was then occupied by Rājyapāla's son Trilochanapāla, who continued to reside at Bārī."[1]

In this manner the supremacy of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras came to an end. Trilōchanapāla is the last known descendant of Bhoja I who reigned at Kanauj. The disappearance of the last remnants of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra Empire of Northern India appears to have been hastened by Gāṅgēyadēva, who seems to have overthrown the last prince of that dynasty. No historical information about Gāṅgēyadēva can be obtained from the Benares copper plate of his son and successor Karṇṇa, but in the Goharwa plates of Karṇṇa it is stated that Gāṅgēyadēva had imprisoned the king of the Kīra country, had defeated the Kuntalas, had conquered as far as the sea of Utkala and vanquished the king of Aṅga (V. 17).[2] In the Khairha plates of his grandson Yaśahkarṇṇa it is stated that "His son was Gāṅgēyadēva, a thunderbolt falling on the heads of enemies (and) with smiling eyes (and) with his two arms surpassing the length of a city bar (V. 10). The crest jewel of crowned heads, he became famous under the name of Vikramāditya, wishing to run away from whom with dishevelled hair (the king of Kuntala) who was deprived of his country, came to possess it again (V. 11). When fond of residing at the foot of the holy fig tree of Prayāga, he had found salvation there together with his hundred wives, his son Karṇṇadeva honoured the quarters with the pearls from the frontal globes of the majestic elephants of his enemies cleft by his sword" (V. 12).[3] The same verses are to be found in the Jubbulpore plate of the same prince, where the name Kuntala was misread by Prof. Kielhorn.[4] Both the Khairha and the Jubbulpore plates mention definitely that Gāṅgēyadēva was fond of residing at the holy *Akshayavaṭa* at Prayāga,

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[1] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1909, p. 278.*
[2] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XI, p. 143*
[3] *Ibid, Vol. XII, p. 210.*
[4] *Ibid, Vol. II, pp. 2-6.*

i.e. Allahabad, proving that Gāṅgēyadēva's kingdom extended as far north as the Ganges and showing that, at some time of their reigns, Rājyapāla or Trilochanapāla had lost all hold over the country to the south of the Ganges. The statement of the Goharwa plate proves definitely that Gāṅgēyadēva had taken prisoner the king of the Kīra country *i.e.* of the Kangra Valley to the north-east of the Punjab. We have no corroboration for this statement in any other inscription, but if it is true, then the Kīra country most probably marks the north-western limit of Gāṅgēya's kingdom, showing that he had possessed him elf of the whole of the dominions of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. It is certain that Gāṅgēya also conquered the eastern provinces of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire, as a corroboration of this statement is to be found in the Goharwa plates and the colophon of a manuscript of the Rāmāyaṇa now in the collection of the Darbar Library at Kathmandu in Nepal. This colophon states that it was copied during the reign of the *Gauḍadhvaja*, the illustrious Gāṅgēyadēva, in Tīrabhukti, in Samvat 1076=1019-20 A.D.[1] Some scholars, particularly Mr. R. P. Chanda, refuse to believe that this Gāṅgēya was the Gāṅgēyadēva of the Chēdī dynasty and are inclined to refer him to a local dynasty of kings of Tirhut or Nepal. But in view of the statement in the Goharwa plates, it is doubtful whether any other identification is possible. From the date in this manuscript it will be evident that Gāṅgēyadēva was a contemporary of Mahīpāla I of Bengal and Rājyapāla of Kanauj and may have helped in the dethronement or murder of the latter, for his submission to Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. From Mr. Hiralal's successful decipherment of the name *Kuntala* and the translation of the 11th verse in the Jubbulpore plate, it is now evident that Gāṅgēya conquered the Kuntala country and gave it back to its former king: "If I have correctly interpreted verse 11, there is an allusion to the conquest and restoration of the Kuntala country to its king by Gāṅgēyadēva. This kingdom included the Banavāsi, Hāngal, Puligere, Beḷvola, Kuṇḍi, Belgaum, Kisukāḍ districts, etc., in the Hyderabād State and the Bombay Presidency and seems to have been the raiding ground of the neighbouring kings in the same way as the old Chakrakoṭya in Bastar. The Chālukya king Tailapa claims to have subjugated it about 973 A.D., Kulottuṅga-Choḷadeva I is recorded to have defeated the Kuntala king about 1070 A.D. and a century later Ballāla II of the Hoysāla dynasty established his supremacy over that country.

"It appears that after Tailapa's raid Kuntala was raided by Gāṅgēyadēva. This must have been done before 1049 A.D., as at that time Gāṅgēya had ceased to reign. The subjugation of a kingdom so far away from Tripurī indicates the greatness of its victors at that time. It is such bold enterprises which seem to have prepared the way to the conquest of Telaṅgāṇā by Gāṅgēya's son Karṇadēva, who assumed the title of *Trikaliṅgādhipati* or Lord of Trikaliṅga."[2] The 11th verse of the Khairha plates is supported by the 17th verse of the Goharwa plates of Karṇṇa and therefore is not an empty boast of the composer of the *praśasti*. The permanent occupation of Prayāga or

[1] *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Durbar Library of Nepal, p. 18, and No. 1079 (KHA* .p. 34
[2] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XII, p. 208.*

Allahabad by the Chēdī Kings is further proved by the issue of the Benares plates of Karṇṇa at the end of the first year of the reign of that prince from Prayāga itself.[1]

With the exception of the short inscription on the *liṅga* at Piawan in the Rewa State, no other record of this redoubtable monarch has been discovered as yet, and consequently further information about the rise of the Chēdī power is not available at present. More light is thrown on Gāṅgēyadēva and his doings by the inscriptions of his son and grandson. The undated Chandēlla inscription from Mahoba, from which we learn that the Chēdī king Gāṅgēyadēva was a contemporary of the Chandēlla king Vijayapāla, states "When Gāṅgeyadeva, who had conquered the world, perceived before him (*this*) terrible one, the lotus of his heart closed the knot (*i.e.* the flower ?) of pride in battle."[2] According to the calculations of the late Dr. J. F. Fleet, Gāṅgēyadēva died on the 22nd January 1041 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Karṇṇa, the most important figure in this dynasty of Chēdī kings. Gāṅgēyadēva issued gold and copper coins in his name after the type of later Gupta gold coinage.[3]

If Gāṅgēyadēva had left any vestige of the once powerful and wide empire of the Gurjaras, Karṇṇa wiped it away. It is stated in the Basahi plates of the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindachandra that Chandradēva came to the rescue of the earth, when on the death of king Bhōja and king Karṇṇa, the world became troubled.[4] The Bhōja mentioned in this grant is no doubt Bhōja I of the Pratīhāra-Gurjara dynasty and Karṇṇa, the king of the Chēdī dynasty. Therefore there cannot be any doubt about the fact that Karṇṇa had himself once ruled over Kanauj. Karṇṇa was a mighty conqueror. About his conquests there is of course no reference in the Benares plates. The Goharwa plates devote 11 verses to Karṇṇa, but there is no information of historical interest in them. Similarly no information of historical importance is to be found in the two known inscriptions of Karṇṇa's son and successor, Yaśaḥkarṇadēva. More information is available from the Bhera-ghat inscription of the queen Alhaṇādēvī, the wife of Karṇṇa's grandson, Gayākarṇṇa. It is stated in this inscription that "While this king of unprecedented lustre gave full play to his heroism, the Pāṇḍya relinquished violence, the Murala gave up his arrogant bearing, the Kuṅga entered the path of the good, the Vaṅga trembled with the Kaliṅga, the Kīra stayed at home like a parrot in a cage, (and) the Hūṇa left off being merry" (V. 12).[5] In the Karanbel inscription of Jayasiṁha, the great-grandson of Karṇṇa, it is stated that he was waited upon by the Chōḍa, Kuṅga, Hūṇa, Gauḍa, Gurjara and Kīra princes.[6] These statements are not empty boasts because a corroboration of the facts is to be

[1] Dr. Kielhorn himself acknowledged subsequently that the *Veṇi* mentioned in the Benares plates is *Triveṇī* or Allahabad and the place from which the grant was issued was *Prayāga* and not *Svasāga*—*Epigraphia Indica, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 58, note 4.*

[2] *Ibid. Vol. I. pp. 219-22.*

[3] V. A. Smith—*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I, pp. 252-53.*

[4] *Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIV, pp. 102-03.*

[5] *Epigraphia Indica Vol. II, pp. 11. 15.*

[6] *Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVIII, p. 217.*

found in inscriptions of other dynasties. According to the Nagpur *praśasti*, Udayāditya of Mālava, who was ruling in 1080 A.D. is said to have freed the land from the dominion of Karṇṇa, who joined by the Karṇāṭas, had swept over the earth like a mighty ocean.[1] The reference to Karṇṇa in this inscription has been but imperfectly understood hitherto. It has not been recognised that the disastrous end of the reign of Bhōja I was due to the conquest of Mālava by Karṇṇa. It was recognised by Dr. Keilhorn, who stated in 1894, that "In verse 32 the poet intimates that Bhōjadēva's end was unfortunate; and he relates that during the troubles which then had befallen the realm, Bhojadeva's relative Udayadeva became king when he had become Indra's companion and when the realm was overrun by floods in which its sovereign was submerged, his relation Udayāditya became king, delivering the earth which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karṇṇa who joined by the Karṇātas, was like the mighty ocean, this prince did indeed act like the holy Boar."[2] The same fact is no doubt referred to in the 19th verse of the Udaipur *praśasti* of the kings of Mālava, where it is stated that "Seeing the Karṇāṭas, the lord of Lāṭa, the king of Gurjaras, the Turushkas, chief among whom were the lord of Chēdī, Indraratha and Toggala and Bhima, conquered by his mercenaries alone, his hereditary warriors thought only of the strength of their arms, not of the number of fighters." The lord of Chēdī, apparently Karṇṇa, appears to have led this confederacy of kings against Bhōja I of Mālava and finally conquered the entire kingdom. Though the Udaipur *praśasti* claims a victory for Bhōja I over the lord of Chēdī, the statement in the Nagpur *praśasti* is clearly significant. The Indraratha mentioned here appears to be the same prince who was defeated by Rājendra Chola I in his northern expedition.[3] There cannot be any doubt about the fact that for the time being, Karṇṇa overthrew the Paramāras of Mālava and annexed that kingdom.

The neighbouring kingdom of the Chandēllas seems to have been conquered by Karṇṇa before the conquest of Mālava. The defeat of the Chandēllas and their absorption in the Chēdī kingdom are acknowledged in the Ajaygadh rock inscription of Vīravarmman. "In that race there was a ruler over the earth whose fame is sung by the Vidyādharas, (*who was*) the pitcher born (*Agastya*) in swallowing that ocean-Karṇṇa (and) the lord of creatures in creating anew the kingdom—the illustrious Kīrtivarmman" (V. 3).[4] In the undated Chandēlla inscription from Mahoba it is stated that Kīrtivarmman conquered Lakshmīkarṇṇa. "Just as Purushottama (*Vishṇu*) having produced the nectar by churning with the mountain (*Mandāra*) the rolling (*milk*) ocean, whose high waves had swallowed many mountains, obtained (*the goddess*) Lakshmī together with the elephants (*of the eight regions*), he (*viz. Kīrtivarman*), having acquired fame by crushing with his strong army the haughty Lakshmīkarṇa, whose

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[1] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, p. 181.*
[2] *Ibid, pp. 185, 193.*
[3] Tirumalai Inscription, *South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I, Nos. 67-68, pp. 98-100, Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IX, pp. 229-33.*
[4] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol I, pp. 327-29.*

armies had destroyed many princes, obtained splendour in this world together with elephants" (V. 26).[1] This *Lakshmīkarṇṇa* has been identified by Dr. E. Hultzsch with Karṇṇa of the Chēdī or Haihaya dynasty, and has also brought to notice the mention of this historical incident in the prologue of Kṛishṇa-miśra's famous drama, the *Prabōdhachandrōdaya*. "This drama was acted before Kīrtivarman at the command of his general, a Brāmaṇa named Gōpāla who had just vanquished Karṇṇa and again placed Kīrtivarman on the throne. Karṇṇa is mentioned thrice in the prologue :—

"(1) In a Sanskrit verse, the importance of which was first recognised and its bearing explained by General Cunnigham :—'He (*viz.* Gopāla) having overcome the strong Karṇṇa caused the rise of the illustrious king Kīrtivarman, just as discrimination, having overcome strong delusion, gives rise to knowledge.'

"(2) A passage in Sanskrit prose says of Gopāla that he 'strove to re-establish the sway over the earth of the kings of the lunar race which (*sway*) had been uprooted by the lord of Chēdī who was as terrible as the fire at the end of the world to the multitude of all princes.' Here the expression 'lord of Chēdī' refers to Karṇa and 'the kings of the Lunar race' to the Chandēllas.

"(3) A lengthy Prakrit passage says that Gopāla 'having crushed the ocean-like army of Karṇa obtained the splendour of victory in battle just as Madhumathana (*Vishṇu*) having churned the milky ocean obtained (*the goddess*) Lakshmī'"[2]

In this inscription as well as the *Prabōdhachandrōdaya* there are clear evidences of the fact that Karṇṇa had practically assimilated the whole of the Chandēlla kingdom, before the time of Kīrtivarmman and that this kingdom was restored to the Chandēlla dynasty during the later part of Karṇṇa's reign. It has been stated above that Vijayapāla of the Chandēlla dynasty was a contemporary of Karṇṇa's father Gāṅgēya. Therefore Vijayapāla's successor Dēvavarmman must have been the prince, who was deprived of his kingdom by Karṇṇa and whose brother Kīrtivarmman was restored by the prowess of his Brāhmaṇa general Gōpāla. Similarly the grammarian Hemachandra eulogises Bhīmadēva I of Aṇahilapāṭaka for having conquered Karṇṇa in battle. According to Merutuṅga's *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi*,[3] Karṇṇa combined with Bhīma I of Gujarat and Bhōja I of Mālava succumbed to this joint attack. Prof. Kielhorn doubts the accuracy of Merutuṅga's statement. "For the Chēdī inscriptions do not even hint that Karṇṇa worked the destruction of the most famous monarch of the eleventh century. Nor does Hemachandra, who wrote his *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* about 150 years before Merutuṅga's times, say that Bhīma I had a share in Bhōja's reverses, though otherwise he is anxious to place Bhīma's military exploits in the best possible light. It seems strange that the Chēdian court poets and older Gujarati writers should both have forgotten to

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[1] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I, pp. 219-22.*

[2] *Ibid, p. 220.*

[3] *Prabandha-chintāmani, p. 117 ff.* A. K. Forbes, *Rāsmālā, p. 68 ff.* (quoted by Kielhorn in *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I, p. 232, note 47*).

notice an event which must have reflected so much glory on the ancestors of their patrons."[1]

For some unknown reason the writers of the Chēdī inscriptions, for example the Goharwa plates of Karṇṇa and the Jubbulpore and Khairha plates of his son Yaśaḥkarṇṇa omit all references to the exploits of Karṇṇa. The inscription on the Benares plates of Karṇṇa may be neglected, as it was incised in the second year of his reign, very probably before he started on his campaigns. The details about Karṇṇa's campaigns are to be found in the inscriptions of the time of Karṇṇa's grandson, and great-grandson *i.e.* the Bhera-ghat inscription of Gayākarṇṇa's queen Alhaṇādēvī and the Karaṅbel inscription of Gayākarṇṇa's son Jayasiṁha. In the latter inscription there is a reference to the king of Gurjara[2] who is apparently the king of Gujarat and not the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king of Mahodaya or Kanauj, the Murala country which is the same as Kērala or Malabar, the Kuṅga country which is the same as the Koṅgudēśa.[3] corresponding to the modern districts of Salem and Coimbatore in the Madras Presidency, the Vaṅga country, which is Eastern Bengal, together with Kaliṅga (Orissa) and Kīra (Kangra valley). The Karanbel inscription of Jayasiṁha mentions the kings of the Chōḷa, Kuṅga, Hūṇa, Gauḍa, Gurjara and Kīra countries. Therefore the Kuṅga, Hūṇa and Kīra kings are mentioned in common in both inscriptions. The Kīra country is no doubt modern Kangra and the Hūṇa country modern Panjab. It may be mentioned in this connection that Karṇṇa married a Hūṇa princess named Āvalladēvī. The Bhera-ghat inscription mentions the Pāṇḍya, Kērala, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga kings in addition.[4] No reliable information is available about the state of the Pāṇḍya kingdom at this time. The Kērala country was attacked by Karṇṇa's father Gāṅgēyadēva. There is a corroboration of Karṇṇa's war in Eastern Bengal in the Belava copper plate inscription of Bhōjavarmadēva, where it is mentioned that Jātavarmman, the grandfather of the donor, married Vīraśrī, a daughter of Karṇṇa.[5] The marriage must have taken place after Karṇṇa's campaign in Eastern Bengal. About Kaliṅga we have no other definite information except the fact that Karṇṇadeva took the title of *Trikaliṅgādhipati*. The Karanbel inscription of Karṇṇa's great-grandson Jayasiṁha mentions three other countries in addition *viz.* the Chōḷa, Gauḍa and Gurjara kingdoms. The Gurjara prince is Bhīmadēva I of Gujarat. More reliable evidence of Karṇṇa's campaigns in Gauḍa *i.e.* in Bengal is available, being recorded by two contemporary witnesses one of whom was Atīśa or Dīpaṅkara-Śrījñāna, the famous Buddhist missionary, who went from Bengal to convert Tibet. The occurrence of the name of a king called Karṇṇa in Tibetan literature was recorded by that pioneer of Tibetan investigations, the late Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur, C.I.E., in an article on the life of Atīśa. It remained, however, for the late Mr. Monmohan

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[1] *Ibid, p. 232.*

[2] *Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVIII, pp. 216-18.*

[3] *Ibid, p. 215, Archæological Survey of Southern India, List of Antiquarian remains in the Presidency of Madras, Vol. I, p. 193.*

[4] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, pp. 11-15.*

[5] *Ibid, Vol. XII, pp. 40-42.*

Chakravarti to identify this "Karṇya" with king Karṇṇa of the Chēdī dynasty. In editing the Kṛishṇadvārikā temple inscription of Nayapāla, Mr. Chakravarti pointed out that Atīśa mediated between Nayapāla and the king Karṇṇa, and that the title 'King of Karṇya' seems to be the translation of the Sanskrit word *Karṇyarāja*, a mistake for *Karṇṇa-rāja*.[1] Rai Bahadur Śarat Chandra Das found the following information about Nayapāla and his war with Karṇṇa in Tibetan records :—

"During Atīśa's residence at Vajrāsana a dispute having risen between Nayapāla, king of Magadha and the Tīrthika[2] king of Karṇya of the west, the latter made war upon Magadha. Failing to capture the city, his troops sacked some of the sacred Buddhist institutions and killed altogether five (men) ....Afterwards when victory turned towards (Nayapāla) and the troops of Karṇṇa were being slaughtered by the armies of Magadha, he took the king of Karṇya and his men under protection and sent them away..........Atīśa caused a treaty to be concluded between the two kings. With the exception of the articles of food that were destroyed at the time of war, all other things, which had fallen in the hands of the parties were either restored or compensated for."[3] This was only the first campaign of Karṇṇa against the king of Gauḍa. The second campaign took place during the reign of Vigrahapāla III, the son and successor of Nayapāla. This campaign is mentioned in the unique history of the later Pālas, the *Rāmacharita* of Sandhyākaranandin. In the commentary of this work it is stated that Vigrahapāla III, though he had conquered Karṇṇa in battle, did not uproot him *i.e.* deprive him of his kingdom and that Karṇṇa's daughter Yauvanaśrī was married to Vigrahapāla III. There cannot be any doubt about the identity of this Karṇṇa mentioned in the commentary of the *Rāmacharita* as it is expressly stated in the same commentary that this Karṇṇa was the king of Dāhala.[4]

According to the researches of Dr. Kielhorn the certain dates of Rājendradēva Parakēśarivarmman range from 1052 to 1062 A.D.[5] and therefore he must have been the contemporary of Karṇṇa in the earlier part of the reign of the latter. Another chief of the Chōḷa dynasty *i.e.* Vīrarājēndra Rājakēśarivarmman was reigning between 1062 and 1067 A.D.[6] and therefore was also a contemporary of Karṇṇa. It is possible that this prince, who was ambitious enough to have campaigned in the north and boasts in one of his inscriptions,[7] of having recovered Kānyakubjya, was the king of the Chōḷa country who was defeated by Karṇṇa. It is evident from the tone of the Chōḷa records about the Chēdī war, that they suffered a reverse at the hands of Karṇṇa. The Chōḷas came into contact with the Chēdīs along the eastern coast, as Vīrarājendra Rājakēśarivarmman is stated to have expelled Dēvanātha and

[1] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part I, 100, p. 1992.*

[2] This term is generally applied to Jains in Buddhist literature.

[3] *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society, Vol. I, p. 9, Note.*

[4] *Commentary, Verse 9, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 22 : ibid, Vol. V, p. 80.*

[5] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VIII, App. II, pp. 22-23, No. 13.*

[6] *Ibid, p. 23, No. 15.*

[7] *South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, No. 83, p. 200.*

other *Sāmantas* from Chakrakōṭṭa.[1] This place is mentioned in the Tirumalai rock inscription of Rājendrachōḷa I [2] and is also called Chakrakotya at the present day, being situated in the Bastar State of the Central Provinces,[3] which lay in the southern part of the Chēdī Kingdom, ruled by the collateral branch of the family known as the Haihayas of Ratnapura. Chakrakoṭṭa is mentioned in an inscription of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa I, discovered at Tiruvorriyur, where it is stated that the Chōḷa king conquered the king of Dhārā at Chakrakoṭṭa and took possession of the eastern country.[4] This king of Dhārā must be Lakshmadēva, son of Udayāditya, who restored the Paramāra kingdom, as Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I ascended the throne in 1070 A.D. and the known dates of Udayāditya range from 1059 to 1080 A.D.[5] Regarding Kērala we do not possess any definite information as to who was reigning in that province in the middle of the eleventh century A.D.

Karṇṇa's campaigns in the Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and the Kērala country appear to have been mere expeditions without any lasting effect; but his occupation of Kānyakubja, his annexations of the Chandēlla kingdom and of the kingdom of Mālava are undoubted historical facts, proved from other records and from records of the dynasty of the kings, who were uprooted by Karṇṇa. There is no doubt about the fact that he was a great conqueror and founded a mighty empire for himself in northern India. Kinloch Forbes in his *Rāsmālā* states "At this time a raja named Kurun reigned in Dahal-land, the modern Tipera, and over the sacred city of Kashee or Benares............One hundred and thirty six kings worshipped at the lotus feet of Karṇṇa."[6] In his old age Karṇṇa abdicated in favour of his son Yaśaḥkarṇṇa, whose accession to the throne took place sometime before the Kaḷachūrī-Chēdī year 823=1072 A.D. It is stated in the Khairha plates of Yaśaḥkarṇṇadeva that Karṇṇadeva himself performed the coronation ceremony (*Mahābhishēka*) of his son, "Of this law-abiding (son) the father, whose acts were purified by the respect which he had paid to the family priests, performed himself the great inauguration ceremony in the midst of the four great oceans, made resplendent as by a full jar, by the king of mountains and illumined by the Moon and Sun:" (V. 16).[7] Karṇṇadeva is known from two copper plate grants and two stone inscriptions. The first copper plate grant is dated Kaḷachūrī-Chēdī year 793=1042 A.D., which was the second year of Karṇṇa's reign. This is the grant written on the Benares plates. The object of this inscription was to record the grant of the village of Susi to a Brāhmaṇa named Viśvarūpa, who was the son of Nārāyaṇa, the grandson of Vāmana, the great-grandson of Maha, a student of the Vājasaneya *śākhā* and who belonged to the Kauśika *gōtra*, by Karṇṇadeva, who

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[1] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VIII, App. II, p. 23.*

[2] *Ibid, Vol. IX, pp. 230, 232.*

[3] *Descriptive List of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces* by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, *pp. 147, 148, 150, 152 and 153.*

[4] *South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, No. 64, p. 133.*

[5] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VIII, App. I, p. 15, list No. 17, No. 11.* See ante p. 25 regarding Lakshmadēva's conquest of Tripurī.

[6] *Rāsmālā, pp. 68, 69.*

[7] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XII, p. 216.*

bestowed it after bathing in the confluence known as Vēṇī (Prayāga or Allahabad) and having worshipped Śiva, from the victorious camp at Prayāga, on the occasion of the first annual *Śrāddha* ceremony of his father, on the second day of the dark half of Phālguna in the Kaḷachūrī-Chēdī year 793.[1] The second copper plate is dated in the seventh year of his reign and was discovered at Goharwa in the Allahabad District. In a note on the date of this record the late Dr. Fleet wrote "The record is dated 'in the administration (*Vyavaharaṇa*) renowned by the glorious Karṇa,' in the seventh year and on the full moon *tithi*, coupled with a Thursday, of the month Kārttika. Karṇadēva's predecessor was his father Gāṅgeyadeva, who was reigning, we know, in A.D. 1030, and for whom we have perhaps also a date in A.D. 1037-38. For Karṇadēva as king we have the date Phālguna Vadi 9, answering to 18 January A.D. 1042. On that day he made a grant, having bathed in the river Veṇī on Phālguna Vadi 2 on an occasion which the record mentions as *Saṁvatsare Śrāddhe*........of his father Gāṅgeyadeva........However, in any case, the text appears to indicate distinctly, not some indefinite anniversary of the death of Gāṅgeyadeva, but the first anniversary of his death: and it is at any rate fully capable of being understood in this sense. Accordingly, Gāṅgeyadeva died on Phālguna Vadi 2=22 January A.D. 1041. The month Kārttika in A.D. 1041 was, therefore, in the first year of Karṇadeva. The month Kārttika in his seventh year came in A.D. 1047. In this year the given *tithi* was connected quite regularly with a Thursday: it ended at about 11 hours 45 minutes after mean sunrise (for Ujjain), *i.e.*, at about 5-45 p.m., on Thursday, 5 November; and, being current at sunrise, it gave its number to that same day. And this date, Thursday, 5 November, A.D. 1047, seems clearly to be the date of the record."[2] The inscription on the Goharwa plates records the grant of the village of Chandapahā situated in the Kosāmba *pattalā* to a Brāhmaṇa named Paṇḍita Śrī-Śāntiśarmman, the son of the *Āvasathika* Malhu and the grandson of the Upādhyāya Silu of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* and Vājasanēya *śākhā*, by Karṇṇadēva on the occasion of the full moon day of Kārttika (*Kārttikī-paurṇṇamāsī*) after bathing at the *Arghatīrtha*, on the Ganges and after worshipping Śiva, in the seventh year of his public appearance according to law or custom (*Karṇṇa-prakāśē vyavaharaṇē*).[3] The terms in which the date of the Goharwa plates is expressed have since been further elucidated by the date of the Rewa inscription of Vapullaka of the Kaḷachūrī-Chēdī year 812.[4] In the twentieth line of this inscription, the year 812, evidently of the Kaḷachūrī-Chēdī era, is mentioned as being equivalent to the ninth year of the public appearance of Karṇṇa. The phrase used in connection with this regnal year is *Saṁvatsarē* 812 *Śrīmat-Karṇṇa-prakāśa-vyavaharaṇayā navame saṁvatsarē*. The fact that this particular regnal year of Karṇṇa began later than the year 792 of the Kaḷachūrī-Chēdī era is indisputable, because if the ninth year of the reign of

[1] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, pp. 309-10.*
[2] *Ibid, Vol. XI, p. 146.*
[3] *Ibid, pp. 144-45.*
[4] See Appendix C, below pp. 130-33.

Karṇṇa fell in the year 812 the first year must have fallen in the year 803-04 of the same era. Therefore the year seven, which is the date of the Goharwa plates cannot be equivalent to 1047 A.D. It must therefore be admitted, unless the date in the new Rewa inscription is a mistake, that Karṇṇa was crowned a second time about eleven years after his coronation, most probably as a *Chakravarttin* monarch, after having annexed the Chandēlla kingdom, the kingdom of Mālava and the remanents of the Gurjara-Pratīhara empire in the province of Kānyakubja, to his ancestral possessions. The second coronation was styled the public appearance of Karṇṇa (*Karṇṇa-prakāśa*) according to law (*Vyavaharaṇā*).

This newly discovered Rewa inscription gives the names of some of the battles fought by Karṇṇa. Names of battles are very rarely mentioned in Indian inscriptions and more specially so in northern inscriptions. This inscription, the object of which is to record the dedication of an image of Śiva, named after the donor, Vapullakēśvara and certain grants of land to this god, contains a reference to two battles which this chief Vapullaka had fought under Karṇṇa. Unfortunately for us the inscription is very much mutilated and it is not possible to decipher or render any passage completely. It is also therefore impossible to identify the places mentioned therein. The first battle is mentioned in line 10 where there is a reference to a battle which was known among the people as the "Battle of horses." (*Ghōṭaka-vigraha*). In the next line another battle is referred to which is called the battle at the foot of the yellow mountain[1] (*Pīta-parvata-talē samarē*). In this battle a chief named Trilōchana was defeated along with a holy person named Vijjala, who had the title of *Muni* and who was evidently a Jaina. This chief Trilōchana is evidently the same as the Chaulukya Trilōchanapāla of the *Lāṭa Dēśa,* one of whose inscriptions is dated Śaka 972=1051 A.D.[2] Evidently Vapullaka came against him in one of Karṇṇa's campaigns against the king of Gujarat. Nothing else is known about this Trilōchana. The new Rewa inscription was incised some ten years later than the Surat plates. The second stone inscription of Karṇṇa was discovered by Sir John Marshall at Sarnath in 1906-07. In this inscription, which was incised in the Kalachuri-Chēdī year 810=1058 A.D. Karṇṇa is called the master of the three Kaliṅgas (*Trikaliṅgādhipati*). It records the copying of the *Ashṭa-sāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* and some other donation by a lady named Māmakā in the *Dharma-chakra-pravarttana-mahāvihāra.*

The poet Bilhaṇa records another defeat of Karṇṇa in his *Vikramāṅka-charitra.* It is stated there that Sōmēśvara I, Āhavamalla, of the Western Chālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇī attacked the Chēdī or Ḍāhala and deposed or slew Karṇṇa.[3] There is no doubt about the fact that this prince was a contemporary of Karṇṇa, because his certain dates range from Śaka 966 to 990

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[1] This mountain is also mentioned in a Chandella rock inscription, near one of the gates of Ajaygadh, in the Bundelkhand Agency, where it is stated that Kīrttivarmman was the crest jewel of the princes in the yellow mountain district (*pīta-śailavishaya*)—*Ibid, Vol. I, p. 333, Verse 9.* Kīrttivarmman may have gone to Sindh in the train of Karṇṇa.

[2] *Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII, p. 201.*

[3] *Bombay Sanskrit Series, Vikramāṅka-charitra, pp. 27, 10 ; I, 102-03.*

(1044-1068 A.D.)[1]. On the other hand, his son, Sōmēśvara II was on the throne in Śaka 993=1071 A.D.[2]. The earliest known date of Karṇṇa's son Yaśaḥkarṇṇa is the Kaḷachūrī-Chēdī year 823=1071-72 A.D. but as Karṇṇa abdicated in favour of his son it is impossible to state whether the statement of Bilhaṇa is correct or not.

Regarding Karṇṇa's children, one son Yaśaḥkarṇṇadēva, who succeeded him during his lifetime and the two daughters who were married to the Pāla king Vigrahapāla III and Yādava king Jātavarmman of Eastern Bengal, are known. During the later part of his reign Karṇṇadeva seems to have suffered serious reverses in Gujarat at the hands of Bhīma I, in Mālava at the hands of Udayāditya, who restored the Paramāra monarchy and in the Chandēlla country at the hands of the Brāhmaṇa general Gōpāla, who replaced Kīrttivarmman on the throne of his father. No definite information is yet available about the date of the loss of Kanauj to the princes of the Chēdī dynasty. Chandradēva of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty of Kanauj was on the throne in V.S. 1148=1090-91 A.D.[3]. The conquest of Kanauj from the Chēdī dynasty must therefore have taken place during the reign of Yaśaḥkarṇṇa.

Of this prince only two inscriptions are known: the Jubbulpore and the Khairha plates. The Khairha plates contain the earliest known date *viz.* the Kaḷachūrī-Chēdī year 823=1071-72 A.D. Unfortunately, the second plate of the Jubbulpore grant, which contained the date, is lost. According to Prof. Kielhorn this plate was issued in A.D. 1122, which is the only year in which the *Makara Saṅkrānti* fell on Monday, the tenth day of Māgha. This year again corresponds to the year 874 of the Kaḷachuri-Chēdī era. Rai Bahadur Hiralal, the editor of the Khairha plates, is inclined to doubt the accuracy of this calculation. According to him the transcript of the second plate of the Jubbulpore grant contains the date 829 for the inscription, which is equivalent to 31st December 1078 A.D. Yaśaḥkarṇṇa must have reigned for a very long time, because even if we accept the date of the Nagpur Museum transcript of the Jubbulpore plates of this prince as correct, there is a gap of seventy-three years between this date, 829, and the only known date of his son and successor Gayākarṇṇa, 902. Besides these two inscriptions no other records of Yaśaḥkarṇṇa are known. Yaśaḥkarṇṇa was defeated and his capital Tripurī sacked by the Mālava king Lakshmadēva. This fact is recorded in the Nagpur *praśasti* of Lakshmadēva of V.S. 1161: "When in the course of an unchecked expedition undertaken in the height of power and under favourable auspices, he had attacked Tripurī and annihilated his warlike spirited adversaries, he encamped on the banks of the Revā where his tents were shaded by the creeping plants of pleasure gardens, gently set in motion by the breeze from the torrents of the Vindhya mountains" (V. 39)[4]. During this expedition Lakshmadēva appears to have been defeated by Kulottuṅga Chōḷa I in Chakrakoṭṭa[5]. The only

[1] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VIII, App. II, p. 7, No. 6.*
[2] *Ibid, No. 7.*
[3] *Ibid, Vol. IX, pp. 304-05.*
[4] *Ibid, Vol. I, p. 193.*
[5] *South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, No. 64, p. 133.*

other mention of this prince, in an epigraph, is to be found in a grant of king Govindachandra of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty of Kanauj. This grant was edited by the late Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall in 1862, when the plates were in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. These plates, however, are no longer in the possession of that learned body. Here it is mentioned that Yaśaḥkarṇṇadēva had given a certain village, named Karaṇḍa with its tank, to the royal spiritual preceptor, the Śaiva teacher, the illustrious Rudraśiva, which village and tank were given to Ṭhakkura Vaśishṭhaśarmman by Govindachandra in V.S. 1177= 1120 A.D.[1] The village granted was situated in the Antarāla *Pattalā*, which may be identified with the Antarvedī or the land lying between the Ganges and the Yamunā. Whatever the reason for the confirmation of the grant may be, there is no doubt that in 1120 A.D. not only Kanauj but the land between the Ganges and the Jumna also had passed out of the control of the descendants of Karṇṇa. The Chandella king Sallakshaṇavarmman, the son and successor of Kīrttivarmman claims to have defeated the Chēdīs, evidently Yaśaḥ-karṇṇa: "From him sprang the prince Sallakshaṇa whose sword took away the fortune of the Mālavas and Chēdīs" (V. 4)[2].

Yaśaḥkarṇṇa was succeeded by his son Gayākarṇṇa who is known to us from the Tewar inscription of the Kalachūrī-Chēdī year 902=1151 A.D. The earliest known date of Yaśaḥkarṇṇa is 1071 A.D. and the only known date of his son Gayākarṇṇa is 1151 A.D. There is thus a clear difference of eighty years between these two dates indicating that when Yaśaḥkarṇṇa came to the throne he must have been but a boy and that he and his son Gayākarṇṇa together reigned for more than eighty years. As it is known that Karṇṇa ascended his throne in 1041 A.D., it has to be admitted that Karṇṇa, his son and grandson together reigned for more than 110 years, at least, a period which gives the abnormal average reign of thirty-seven years to each of these princes. About Yaśaḥkarṇṇa, it is stated in the Jubbulpore and Khairha plates that he defeated the Andhra king and worshipped the god Bhīmēśvara near the Godāvarī. "Extirpating with ease the ruler of Andhra (even though) the play of (that king's) arms disclosed no flaw, he reverenced with many ornaments the holy Bhīmēśvara, passing close to whom the Godāvarī with dancing waves as her eyebrows sings (his praises) with the seven notes of her (seven) streams sweet like the cries of the intoxicated flamingo"[3] (V. 23). This temple of Bhīmēśvara has been identified by the editor of the Khairha plates with the temple of that name at Drākshārāmam in the Godāvarī District of the Madras Presidency. About this time, the kingdom of the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgī was being ruled by Rājendra Choḷa II, who reigned for forty-nine years. He deputed three of his sons, one by one, to rule the Eastern Chālukya kingdom as his deputy[4]. Most probably one of these sons was defeated by Yaśaḥkarṇṇa.

[1] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXI, 1862, pp. 123-24.*
[2] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I, p. 329.*
[3] *Ibid, Vol. XII, pp. 213-16.*
[4] *Ibid, Vol. VIII, App. II, p. 18, Nos. 30-33.*

It is stated in the Bhera-ghat inscription of Yaśaḥkarṇṇa's daughter-in-law. Alhaṇādēvī that the former had raided Champāraṇya. "From him took his spotless birth the illustrious Yaśaḥkarṇṇa. a crest jewel of rulers, with a heart free from guile. who illuminated the circle of the regions with the moon of his fame. which had risen from the devastation of Champāraṇya (*and*) who in his generosity enriched all the learned without exception. as soon as he set eyes on them." (V. 15)[1]. This Champāraṇya has been indentified quite wrongly with a tract of country in the Central Provinces. The country which still goes by this name lies to the north of the Ganges and is now included in the province of Bihar. It is still called Champaran and some of its kings issued coins after the Muhammadan conquest of Magadha[2]. During the latter part of Yaśaḥkarṇṇa's reign. the collateral branch of the Haihayas in southern Kōśala appears to have become independent. Thus Jājalladeva I is mentioned in an inscription of the Kalachūrī-Chēdī year 866=1114 A.D[3]. Another king named Pṛithvīdēva II of Ratnapura is mentioned in an inscription. found at Kukda, which is dated Kalachūrī-Chēdī year 893=1142 A.D[4]. Thus Gayākarṇṇa seems to have succeeded only to Ḍāhala. the ancestral kingdom of the Haihayas of Tripurī. *i.e.*. the tract around Jubbulpore.

Yaśaḥkarṇṇa's son and successor is known from two inscriptions. The Tewar inscription of the year 902 and the Bhera-ghat inscription of his widow of the year 907=1155 A.D., which proves that Gayākarṇṇa had died before that year. It was under Gayākarṇṇa that the Chēdīs lost most of their possessions which had remained to them after the reformation of the kingdom of Mālava under the Paramāras. the kingdom of Jejākabhukti under the Chandellas. the kingdom of Kanauj under the Gāhaḍavālas and the secession of Mahākōśala or Southern Kōśala under the Haihayas of Ratnapura. In the Chandella inscriptions discovered at Mau in the Jhansi District. which are now in the Indian Museum. Calcutta. it is stated that the king Madanavarman defeated the Chēdī king. "Before whose name even ever quickly flee the Chēdī kings. vanquished in fierce fight and through dread of whom the king of Kāśī always passes his time in friendly behaviour: and by whom, moreover. that ruler of Mālava. full of arrogance. was quickly exterminated. while other monarchs paying the homage to him have enjoyed supreme comfort." (V. 15)[5].

Madanavarman reigned from 1129 to 1162 A.D. and he was therefore a contemporary of Gayākarṇṇa and perhaps of his son Narasiṁhadeva as well. It is therefore probable that the king of the Chēdīs defeated by Madanavarman was Gayākarṇṇa. According to the inscription of the year 902 which was discovered at Tewar. the ancient Tripurī. a temple of Śiva was erected by a Pāśupata ascetic named Bhāvabrahman and in this inscription Narasiṁhadeva is mentioned as the *Yuvarāja* or heir-apparent[6]. A colossal Jain image dedicated

[1] *Ibid, Vol. VIII, App. II, p. 18, Nos. 30-33.*
[2] V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum. Calcutta. Vol. I, p. 293.*
[3] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I, p. 34.*
[4] *Indian Antiquary, Vol. XX. p. 84.*
[5] *Epigraphia Indica. Vol. I. pp. 198-204.*
[6] *Indian Antiquary, Vol. XX. pp. 210-11.*

during the reign of Gayākarṇṇadēva has been discovered at Bahuriband in the Jubbulpore District[1]. According to the Bhera-ghat inscription of Alhaṇādēvī, Gayākarṇṇa married Alhaṇādēvī, the daughter of king Vijayasiṁha, who was born in the family of Gobhila, *i.e.*, Guhilas of Medapāṭa, the modern Śiśōdīyas of Mewar. Vijayasiṁha was the son of Vairisiṁha, who was the son of Haṁsapāla. Vijayasiṁha had married Śyāmaladēvī a daughter of king Udayāditya of Mālava (Verses 17-23)[2]. The same information is to be found in lines 15-16 of the unfinished Karanbel inscription of Jayasiṁha[3].

Gayākarṇṇa's successor was his eldest son Narasiṁhadeva. In the Bhera-ghat inscription of the Kaḷachūrī-Chēdī year 907=1155 A.D. he is mentioned as the reigning sovereign. The object of this inscription is to record the foundation of a temple of Śiva, by Alhaṇādēvī, the mother of Narasiṁhadēva and the widow of King Gayākarṇṇa, with a *maṭha* or monastery, a hall of study and gardens around them (V. 27-28). The queen gave to this god the village of Nāmauṇḍī in the Jāulī *pattalā* and the village of Makarapāṭaka, on the right bank of the river Narmmadā (*vulgo* Narbada or Nerbudda). The management of this temple and its property was given to the Pāśupata ascetic, the holy Rudraśiva of the Lāṭa lineage[4], who appears to be the same person as that mentioned in the copper plate grant of Govindachandra of the year V.S. 1177=1120 A.D.[5] Narasiṁhadeva, therefore, came to the throne sometime between 1151 and 1155 A.D. The Bhera-ghat inscription also refers to Narasiṁha's younger brother Jayasiṁha. Narasiṁhadēva is also mentioned in a votive inscription on the top of a hill called Lalpahaḍ, which is also known as the hill of Bharaut (*Bharaut-kē-ḍōṅgḍi*) This record was incised in the Kaḷachūrī-Chēdī year 909=1158 A.D. and records the construction of a water channel by Rāuta Vallāladēva, son of the Mahārājaputra Kēśavāditya of the village of Vādyavā[6]. In the Lalpahaḍ inscription, therefore, there is definite proof of the fact that the land to the south of the river Tons was still in the occupation of the Chēdīs. Another inscription discovered at Alhaghat, which was inscribed in V.S. 1216=1159 A.D., proves that this country was still in the occupation of Narasiṁhadēva. The inscription records the building of a *ghāṭa* called Shaṭashaḍikā and the construction of the road over it along with the dedication of an image of Ambikā by the Rāṇaka Chchhihūla, son of the Rāṇaka Jālhaṇa[7].

After this date Narasiṁhadēva appears to have been succeeded by his younger brother Jayasiṁhadēva. It is stated in the Rewa plates of the Mahārāṇaka Kīrtivarmman, issued in the Kaḷachūrī-Chēdī year 926=1175 A.D., that the descendants of Karṇṇa were still regarded as the suzerains in the country to the south of the river Tons. At the same time the Rewa grant indicates

[1] Cunningham—*Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. IX, p. 40.*
[2] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, pp. 12-16.*
[3] *Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVIII, pp. 216-18.*
[4] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, pp. 10-17.*
[5] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXI, 1862, p. 124.*
[6] *Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVIII, pp. 212-13.*
[7] *Ibid, p. 214.*

that a change had taken place during the last seventeen years. Grants of land were being issued by a local chief, who simply acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chēdī kings, but did not consider it necessary to obtain the sanction of his suzerain before issuing a grant. In this connection attention may be invited to the Kamauli plates of Govindachandra of Kanauj and the Siṅgāra Mahārājaputra Vatsarāja. The Siṅgāra chief was probably a feudatary of the Chēdīs, but in V.S. 1191=1134 A.D. his allegiance had been transferred to the Gāhaḍavāla kings[1]. The inscription on the plate found at Kakaredi records the grant of the village of Ahāḍāpaḍa in the *pattalā* of Khamḍagahā to two Brāhmaṇas named *ṭhakuras* Mahāditya and Śīlana, the sons of the *ṭhakura* Chaturbhuja, the grandsons of the *ṭhakura* Gayādhara, the great-grandsons of the *ṭhakura* Trilōchana, of the Kauśika *gōtra*, by the Mahārāṇaka Kīrttivarman of Kakkarēḍikā, during the reign of *Paramamāhēśvara*, the lord of the three Kaliṅgas, the Mahārājādhirāja-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Paramēśvara Jayasiṁhadēva in the (Kaḷachūrī-Chēdī) year 926 on Thursday, the 4th of the bright half of Bhādrapada at the place where *piṇḍas* had been offered to the Rāṇaka Vatsarāja, the father of Kīrttivarmman[2]. Another inscription of Jayasiṁhadēva was incised in the Kaḷachūrī-Chēdī year 928=1177 A.D. and records the erection of a temple of Śiva by a Brāhmaṇa named Kēśava during the reign of Jayasiṁhadēva, the younger brother of Narasiṁhadēva, son of the king Gayākarṇṇa. This Keśava was the inhabitant of a village named Śikha in Mālavaka[3]. An unfinished inscription of Jayasiṁhadēva was discovered at Karanbel near Tewar. According to Prof. Kielhorn the inscription was probably intended to record the erection of a temple of Śiva but was clearly left incomplete and is therefore undated[4].

The last known prince of this dynasty, who ruled over his ancestral kingdom of Ḍāhala is Vijayasiṁha, the son and successor of Jayasiṁhadēva. It is stated in the Kumbhi plates of this prince that his mother was Gosāladēvī. These plates contain the earliest known date of this prince, *viz.* the Kaḷachūrī year 932=1180 A.D. The grant was issued from Tripurī on the Narmmadā and records the donation of the village of Chorālāyī, in the Samvalā *pattalā*, to a Brāhmaṇa named Paṇḍita Sōḍhaśarmman, by the king Vijayasiṁha, after bathing in the Narmmadā at Tripurī. It records the names of the following officers :—

The illustrious Mahākumāra Ajayasiṁhadeva, the Śaiva Āchārya and Chief Minister, the royal spiritual preceptor Vidyādēva, the chief priest (*Mahāpurōhita*) Paṇḍita Yajñadhara, the chief judge (*Dharmmapradhāna*) and *Mahāmātya* Ṭhakkura Kiki, the *Mahākṣapaṭalika* and the chief writer of grants (*Mahāpradhan-ārthalēkhī*), the Ṭhakkura Daśamūlika-Vatsarāja, the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* Ṭhakkura Purushōttama and the *Mahāpratīhāra* Dushṭasādhya[5]. Vijayasiṁhadēva is also mentioned in three other inscriptions. The first of these is the fragmentary inscription at Gopalpur near Tewar, which was noticed

[1] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, pp. 131-33.*
[2] *Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVII, pp. 226-27.*
[3] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, pp. 18-19.*
[4] *Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVIII, pp. 216-18.*
[5] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VIII, 1839, pp. 481-95 : Vol. XXXI, 1862, pp. 116-22.*

by Prof. Kielhorn in 1889[1]. He is also mentioned as the reigning sovereign in the newly discovered Rewa inscription of Malayasiṁha. This inscription was incised in the Kalachūrī-Chēdī year 944=1192 A.D. and records the excavation of a tank at the cost of fifteen hundred *taṅkakas*, by one Malayasiṁha whose paternal grandfather Padmasiṁha was the minister of Vijayasiṁha. About his ancestry it is stated in this record that the first person whose name was remembered was Jāṭa, who was a contemporary of Karṇṇadēva and had won his victories for him. His son was Yaśaḥpāla, who was the contemporary of Karṇṇa's grandson Gayākarṇṇa. Yaśaḥpāla had two sons named Padmasiṁha and Chandrasiṁha of whom the former was the minister of Vijayasiṁha. Padmasiṁha's grandson Malayasiṁha was also a contemporary of Vijayasiṁha. Vijayasiṁhadēva therefore reigned for a longer period than his father or uncle, as his suzerainty is acknowledged by the Mahārāṇaka Salakshaṇavarmadēva[2], in the single Rewa copper plate grant issued by the latter chief, in the Vikrama year 1253=1195 A.D. This grant also proves that up to 1195 A.D., the suzerainty of Vijayasiṁha was acknowledged by the feudatory chiefs of Kakareḍī, a place, which is still existing, under the same name on the borders of the states of Panna and Rewa. This is the latest known inscription and the last known date of Vijayasiṁhadēva. The object of the inscription incised on this plate is to record the grant of the village of Chhiḍauḍā in the *pattalā* of Kūyīsavapālisa to a number of Brāhmaṇas by the (Rāṇaka) Sallakshaṇavarman (son of Kīrttivarman who is the donor in the grant of the Kaḷachūrī-Chēdī year 926), who had obtained 'the five great sounds', after having bathed at Kakareḍi and worshipped Śiva, on Friday the 7th of the dark half of Mārggaśira of the (Vikrama) year 1253, during the reign of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirājā-Paramēśvara-Paramamāhēsvara, the lord of the three Kaliṅgas, Vijayadēva[3].

It is not known how this dynasty came to an end and whether Vijayasiṁha was succeeded by any other prince at Tripurī. It is stated in the Rewa plates of the Mahārāṇaka Kumārapāla, the grandson of Sallakshaṇavarman, of V.S. 1297=1240-41 A.D., that on that date the land to the south of the Tons had passed from the possession of the Chēdīs to that of the Chandēllas, as he acknowledges the suzerainty of king Trailōkyavarmman of that dynasty[4]. What had happened in the forty-four years intervening between the grants of Sallakshaṇavarman and his grandson Kumārapāla, we are not yet in a position to state. Jaitugi I or Jaitrapāla, the son and successor of Bhillama I of the Yādava dynasty of Dēvagiri, is said to have killed the king of Trikaliṅga[5] and this may be a reference to the death of Vijayasiṁhadēva, who was certainly a contemporary of this prince, because the former's father, Bhillama I, was reigning in 1191 A.D. and his son Siṅghaṇa was reigning from 1207 to 1246 A.D.[6]

[1] *Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVIII, pp. 218-19.*

[2] It appears that Salakshaṇavarman was defeated in battle at Kakareḍi by Malayasinha some time before 1192 A.D. the date of the Rewa inscription of that prince, who was himself a feudatory of Vijayasimha. It is probable that some time between 1192 and 1195 A.D. Salakshaṇavarman acknowledged the suzerainty of Vijaysiṁha.

[3] *Ibid, Vol. XVII, pp. 228-30.*

[4] *Ibid, pp. 231-34.*

[5] *Ibid, Vol. XIV, p. 316.*

[6] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VIII, App. II, p. 13.*

CHAPTER II.

The Monuments of the Chēdī Country.

By the expression "Chēdī country" is meant the ancestral dominions of the Haihayas of Tripurī, *i.e.*, the land around the country of Ḍāhala or the modern district of Jubbulpore, including that portion of Central India which lies to the south of the river Tons, consisting of the modern States of Nagod, Maihar, the eastern part of Panna and the western part of the northern division of the Rewa State. The monuments of this country fall into three broad groups, all of which lie partly in the Indian States mentioned above and in the British distrfct of Jubbulpore. The interesting ruins at Bilhari in the Murwara sub-division of the Jubbulpur District and the circular temple of the Sixty-four Yoginīs, called the temple of Gaurī-Śaṅkara at Bhera-ghat in the same district belong to this period of Indian History. There are other temples or rather ruins of temples at Chhoti Deori, Simra, Rithi, Badgaon, Nand Chand, etc., all in the Murwara sub-division and lying in close proximity to the Bina-Katni section of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. In the Rewa State the principal ruins of the Haihaya period are to be found at Gurgi, twelve miles due east of Rewa town, and Chandrehe, twenty-nine miles due south of the same place. Scattered ruins have been found as far north as Deo-talao, Sixty-one miles north-east of Sutna Station and at other places also, but Gurgi and Chandrehe contain the most important remains of the Chēdī period in the Rewa State. In other parts of the Rewa State remains have been discovered at Bhirpur, Amarkantak and Sohagpur. The temples at these places belong to the later part of the domination of the Chēdī or Haihaya dynasty of Tripurī. The activities of the builders of the Chēdī period must now be divided into three different groups or parts. The first part begins from the time of Yuvarājadēva I, the grandson of Kokkalla I and his son and grandsons, *i.e.*, Lakshmaṇarāja, Śaṁkaragaṇa and Yuvarāja II. Ruins of this period have been discovered at Gurgi, Chandrehe, Bilhari, Bhera-ghat and Chhoti Deori. The second group belongs to the time of Karṇṇadēva and his immediate predecessor and successor. Ruins of this period have been found at Sohagpur, Amarkantak, Baijnath and Marai. Remains of the third group belong to the period of decadence of art in the Chēdī country, the reigns of its last princes, *i.e.*, Narasiṁhadēva, Jayasiṁhadēva and his son Vijayasiṁhadēva.

The ruins of the first and the earliest period are to be found for the most part in the Rewa State, *i.e.*, in the northern part of the country over which the kings of the Chēdī dynasty ruled. Isolated ruins have been found in the southern part, such as the inscribed pillar of Śaṁkaragaṇa at Chhoti Deori in the Jubbulpore District and some portion of the Circular temple of the Sixty-four Yōginīs at Bhera-ghat. But ancient remains, which are still standing,

have been found only at Chandrehe and at Gurgi. At both of these places the majority of monuments are to be ascribed to the period of Yuvarāja I. The date of these monuments has been fixed by the inscription discovered at Chandrehe, which is still *in situ*, and the inscription removed from Gurgi about a century ago, which is now in front of the palace at Rewa.

The remains at Chandrehe consist of a temple of Śiva and a monastery. Both of these monuments were noticed by General Cunningham and Mr. Beglar. But as neither of them could read the inscription, which is built into the front wall of the monastery and which supplies us with the date of the temple, they were totally wrong in their calculations. The inscription is in two parts and is inscribed on two separate slabs. According to this inscription Prabōdhaśiva, a Śaiva ascetic of the Mattamayūra clan, had built a monastery in the Kalachūrī-Chēdī year 724. As the inscription itself is attached to the monastery there cannot be any doubt that it is this very monastery which was built by Prabodhaśiva. The same inscription informs us that the monastery built by Prabōdhaśiva lay "close to the house of gods built by his spiritual preceptor" (*Gurukrita-surāgārād=ārād=amum maṭham=unnatam*—V. 17[1].) The reference is no doubt to the circular temple of Śiva, which stands in front and, within ten yards of it. This is a clue sufficient to enable one to deduce the correct date of the temple at Chandrehe, about which several conjectures have been hazarded by Cunningham and his assistants. The monastery itself was completed in the Kalachūrī-Chēdī year 724=972 A.D. Therefore the temple must have been built, about 25 years earlier, *i.e.* approximately about 947 A.D. Now 947 A. D. is equal to 699 of the Kalachūrī-Chēdī era and in this connection a votive inscription in the temple should be remembered. This mentions a Yōgī named Yaṁja and the numerals 700. Rai Bahadur Hiralal and others are of opinion that his Chandrehe temple bears an inscription which contains the name of a Yōgī named *Magaradhaja*[2] and the figures 700. The name of this Yōgī and the same numerals have been found at many different places, from which fact Mr. Hiralal rightly concludes that one and the same person cannot have visited all of these places in one and the same year. Whatever be the correct interpretation of these votive inscriptions and the numerals, one fact remains clear, that the date of the building of the Chandrehe temple is very close to the figures attached to the name of this Yōgī, if the numerals are taken to be a year of the Kalachūrī Chēdı era[3]. The assignation or the interpretation of this numeral in this votive inscription is certain, as the definite statement in the Chandrehe inscription of Prabōdhaśiva leaves no doubt the fact, that the circular temple at Chandrehe was built about a generation before the monastery itself, *i.e.* sometime in the second quarter of the tenth century A. D., about the year 700 of the Kalachūrī-Chēdī era.

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[1] See Appendix C, p. 119.

[2] *Descriptive Lists of Ancient Monuments in the C. P. and Berar, Nagpur, 1916, p. 112.*

[3] The numerals stand for 700 and the temple was built a year or two before the Kalachūrī-Chēdī year 698 or 699-947 or 948 A. D.

The structure consists of the *garbhagṛiha* or the sanctum and a narrow *maṇḍapa* in front of it (Pl. I. *a* and *b*). The carvings on the temple are not very elaborate. neither do they compare favourably with the sculptures on the temples at Sohagpur. Baijnath or Maihar. Yet the temple is deserving of special notice because it is the earliest specimen of the peculiar type of temples evolved in this part of the country during the 10th century A. D. It stands on a broad low platform which is rectangular in form with a narrower projection behind. This platform measures 28′ in breadth and 46′ 6″ in length. The plinth. the body of the *garbhagṛiha*. as well as the *Śikhara*, of this temple are circular. On the rectangular platform stands the *maṇḍapa* and the *antarāla*. Beglar, who discovered this temple and described it for the first time, noticed that it was unique in type. "The temple stands on a raised terrace.—the terrace. however. appears to me to be a later addition. inasmuch as it is built of materials evidently taken from some other ruined structures; and I believe. if it could be removed, we would find the basement mouldings of the temple extend down a considerable distance. and greatly add to the dignity and ornateness of the temple. Supposing. then. this terrace removed, the temple would rise out from the ground level. or very near it. and look much taller than it does. The floor of the temple internally is much higher either than the ground level or the level of the terrace. and would have necessitated the existence of a flight of steps in front. which would be no small addition to its dignity as it now stands. The temple. though elegant. is dwarfed. firstly. by the actual amount of height taken off by the platform. and still more in appearance by the height of the platform, which is not only greater in proportion to its horizontal dimensions than is pleasing. but is greater in proportion to the visible height of the temple on it than its proper subordination to the temple renders necessary: and. consequently. instead of enhancing, as it ought to have. if it formed part of the original design. it detracts not a little from the dignity of the chief object. On these grounds, then independently of its being built of materials from other ruins. I do not hesitate to consider it an after addition.

"In plan the temple is unique: the sanctum is circular externally as well as internally. the external circle being unbroken into projecting angles and recessed niches. as is usual in temples generally: nevertheless. though wanting in the alternations of height and shade peculiar to those temples. it has broader, though less pronounced. shadows. due to the curve of the sanctum: and the half tints thus introduced in broad masses is at least as pleasing. especially in sunlight. as the more violent, though infinitely varied. alternations in the generality of temples without sunlight; it is somewhat deficient in relief; it is indeed the only example of its kind I have either seen or heard of. and its beauty makes it deserving of study: in the absence of the bold. angular, radial projections which render temples of the Udipur and Mahoba type so exquisitely beautiful. from the existence, not merely of alternations of height and shadow as in the examples at Khajuraha, but of *graduated tints of shadow* in the alternations. due to the varying angles at which light falls on the *radially-*

ranged projections: the deepest shadows here are secured by chiselling out the lower portion of the tower above the basement mouldings into pilasters, with deep-sunk narrow intervals crowned by a bold and deep cornice and mouldings, and the upper portion of the tower is also formed into a number of facets separated similarly from each other by deep lines running continuously up to the crowning amalaka. In addition to this, the facets are elaborately sculptured in the style of the Jaina temple at Khajuraha, and altogether the exterior presents an appearance in which there is not much fault to be found: the plain pilasters only need the boldly executed statues of Khajuraha to render this temple as rich in sculptured beauty as they. The temple faces west, and is Saivic: it has a mandapa, a mahamandapa, an antarala and a sanctum."[1] Beglar noticed that the exterior of the *garbhagriha* was divided into a number of square pilasters, by chiselling out intermediate spaces between them. The aim of the architect seems to have been to represent the temple as being supported by a circular row of pilasters. Just above the round moulding of the face, there is a circular row of square pedestals on which these pilasters stand. The shafts are perfectly plain, except at two-thirds of the height from the bottom, where there is a projection, shaped as a cornice, with lotus petals. Over the top is another broad projection, square in section along the edge of which is a row of *kīrtimukhas*. The plain square capital is shallow but very pleasing. Each of these capitals support a portion of the circular *śikhara*. The entire *śikhara* is covered with vertical bands of the *chaitya-window*-pattern, which terminate in a single triangular *chaitya*-window. The artist has fashioned out the *śikhara* in such a way that each of the false pilasters carved out of the body of the *garbhagriha* appears to be bearing the weight of a section of the *śikhara*, which itself is slightly convex in shape. This delusion is due to a series of vertical sunken lines which appear on the exterior of the *śikhara*. The stumpy appearance of the *śikhara* is also due to the low position of the *āmalaka* which has been placed rather too near the apex of the *chaitya*-window-pattern-ornamentations. In the earlier Khajuraho temples the elegant appearance of the *śikhara* is due to the position of the *āmalaka*, which in this particular case might have been raised a little higher and reduced slightly in size. The Chandrehe temple looks something like a truncated cone on account of the low position of its *āmalaka*. In front of the *śikhara*, just over the *antarāla*, there is a pyramidal structure which is a peculiar feature of all temples in this part of the country. It has been found in the temples at Chandrehe and Gurgi as well as in the southern group of temples at Amarkantak and Sohagpur.[2] This pyramidal structure partly leans on the *śikhara* and consists of a large *chaitya*-window on the top of the pyramid, with a circular sunken medallion in its centre, which is often empty. Below the top *chaitya*-window, there are one or more *chaitya*-windows in front or on the sides, and below this a number of sunken panels, either empty or containing rosettes, on the three sides on the pyramid. In the case of the Chandrehe

[1] Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. XIII, pp. 7-8.*

[2] A similar feature is to be seen in some of the Western Chalukyan temples of the Bombay Presidency, especially those near the Gokak falls in the Belgaum District.

temple there is a large *chaitya*-window on the top, with a circular medallion in its centre. This medallion contains the bust of a four-headed deity. Just below it there is a much smaller *chaitya*-window, also with a circular medallion in its centre, which contains another bust. Below this there are two miniature temples, on either side of the pyramid and in front a single sunken panel flanked by pilasters and another similar sunken panel, on each side, on recessed corners. The sides of the *antarāla*, both inside and outside, are perfectly plain and are constructed in narrow courses of ashlar masonry. The *maṇḍapa* itself is open in front, but the sides are enclosed by parapet walls in the shape of high benches with backrests, the backs of which are carved to represent a row of vertical panels, placed between circular pilasters. The pilasters of the dado support a vase at the top and have a similar vase at the bottom, and an undulating creeper decoration on the shaft. The sunken panels contain arabesque work. Two pillars and a pilaster stand on each side of the *maṇḍapa*, being supported on the stone slabs of the bench. These pillars and pilasters are square in shape and carry plain cruciform capitals, which support the lintels which are carved with a similar undulating creeper pattern as the shafts above mentioned. The roof of the *maṇḍapa* is trabeate and its exterior is shaped as a pyramid. A narrow but graceful *chhajja* runs along three sides of the *maṇḍapa*. To the north of the *garbhagriha* is a gargoyle, shaped like the head of a *makara*, through which water escapes from the interior of the *garbhagriha*. The interior of the *garbhagriha* itself is quite plain and circular. A flight of steps, in front of the platform on which the temple stands, leads from the ground level to that of the platform. These steps appear to have been repaired at some later date. They are eight in number and at present are very much out of repair. Another series of six steps leads from the level of the platform to the level of the *garbhagriha*. A group of sculptures, some Jain and some Brahmanical, lie in front and inside the *maṇḍapa*. Beglar was certainly mistaken or rather misled by the various repairs at different times to this platform, in stating that the platform is later in date than the temple. The rear part of the platform most certainly belongs to the same date as the temple itself. The lines of ornamentations were probably never finished and carved stones from some other structure were used at two different dates to repair the rectangular part of the platform. This temple was certainly unique at the date of its discovery by Beglar (1875-76). During the succeeding half a century no other temple of this peculiar type has come to light in Northern India, except one other specimen, namely that at Gurgi in the Rewa State, which was first noticed in April 1920. Garrick, who visited Gurgi, six years after the visit of Beglar to Chandrehe, mentions a tall temple on the eastern bank of a tank named Bhara pokar[1]. But evidently, this is not the temple which was discovered in April 1920, because Garrick does not mention that it is of the same type as the Chandrehe temple or that it is circular in shape. The temple at Gurgi is unfortunately not so well preserved as the temple at Chandrehe. It will be described below along with the other antiquities of that place.

[1] Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. XIX, p. 88.*

The only other building at Chandrehe, of considerable antiquity, is the monastery (Pl. II, *a* and *b*). It stands very close to the temple described above and was constructed by the abbot Prabōdhaśiva in 972 A.D. The inscription does not mention the name of the king reigning at that time: but most probably this date falls within the reign of Lakshmaṇarāja or Yuvarājadeva II. Beglar, who visited and described this monument for the first time, recognised it as a monastery. It is a great pity that he did not prepare any plan of this monument, at the time of his visit, when it was in a much better condition than at present. He states "it is much to be regretted that the building is not in sufficiently good preservation to furnish accurate plans and drawings, to enable every detail of its construction and arrangement to be fully made out; in general terms, the building consisted of a central, open, paved courtyard, on all sides of which ran rows of pillars. All the sides do not, however, appear to have been similar, some having but one row of pillars and a row of pilasters forming a sort of verandah running the whole length, while others have two and even three rows of pillars, some running the whole length of its side, forming pillared halls rather than verandahs. Behind the line of pillars on each side are rooms, many of them plain, some small, some large, but some also with elaborately sculptured entrances, and elegant, large, carefully constructed roofs, with the architraves and the overlapping and intersecting courses of slabs ornamented with sculpture; one of the corner rooms in particular is especially remarkable for the size and elegance of its roof: underneath some, if not all, the rooms are vaults—if vaults they may be called—which have no true vaulted roofs: these are quite dark and are below the ground level outside."[1]

Further remarks made by Beglar prove that he had conceived the plan of the building correctly: "Externally it appears to have been nearly a square of more than 100 feet each way. On the side of the temple, a portico projects beyond the face of the building; this is supported on dwarf pillars, the dwarf pillars resting on benches with sloping backrests, as in the window seats of temples, and was evidently meant as a place where people coming either for business or as visitors might sit down comfortably and discuss the news of the day. One small entrance behind the portico with pārvatī sculptured over it gave access to the interior, opening first into a long passage leading to the verandah round the inner courtyard from which every room in the building is accessible, most of them opening directly into it; on another face of the square externally exist the ruins of an open verandah supported on tall round pillars which have fallen down long ago. Behind this external verandah was a large room which may reasonably be assumed to have been the reception-room; on the other sides there appear no traces either of doors or porticos or projections of any kind. The main building appears to have been two-storeyed; the projecting portico was not, however, two-storeyed; at least no remains of a second storey exist over it; the uppor storey has for the most part tumbled down, but enough remained to enable me to obtain a section through both, show-

[1] *Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. XIII, p. 9.*

ing a profile of the very elegant façade presented on each side to the spectator. From the inner courtyard externally the façade appears to have been not merely plain, but positively as ugly as a huge unbroken plain stone wall of the entire height of the lower storey could make it, except on the side which had the reception-room and pillared verandah in front, and the side where the great portico projected from the face of the building and which was further ornamented by a narrow verandah running along a part of the face, supported by a row of plain square small pillars in front and pilasters abutting against the plain blank wall behind. The upper storey, however, did not present a plain blank wall externally, for here the outer walls were pierced at frequent intervals by doors and windows, letting in plenty of light and air and removing it entirely from the class of native buildings which became the fashion not long after, where every care is taken to allow the inmates to see as little of the world outside as is possible. On the whole, this building is a very favourable specimen of Hindu civil or domestic architecture. The roofs are all flat; the largest room, which is over 16 feet square, is roofed by cutting off the corners to form an octagon which again supports a smaller square, and this square is slabbed over; the roofing slabs are often 12 feet long, more than 2 feet in width, and 10 inches deep; they are laid in two layers one across the other; the material is a fine closegrained sandstone of two colours, greyish and purplish; bricks appear to have been used in the roofs of the second storey in addition to stone, but very sparingly."[1]

The building has suffered much since Beglar's visit fifty-two years ago and a number of rooms, on the right and left of the monastery, have collapsed altogether. The dense growth of bomboos referred to in his report has, however, disappeared entirely and the ruins are now covered sparsely with brush-wood. The monastery (Plate 11) consisted of an open porch and a verandah in front with a narrow passage leading to the courtyard in the centre. This courtyard is surrounded on all sides by a plain but narrow verandah, supported on stone pillars. A number of stone doorways, some of which are fitted with carved door frames, lead into a number of chambers, some of which were used as dormitories while others were utilised as shrines. The building was partly double-storied. The front wing consisted of a single storey while the right wing and the back were double-storied. It faces the north, on which face there is a porch similar to some of the temples at Khajuraha and elsewhere. The porch is provided with broad benches with backrests on three sides. The space under the bench, outside is carved like the dados of the porches of *ardha-maṇḍapas* of the Khajuraha temples. As in the case of the dado of the *maṇḍapa* of the temple, described above, this dado also consists of a number of small narrow vertical panels alternately sunk. Behind this open porch there is an open verandah in front of the monastery, supported by columns. Both ends of this verandah have collapsed. At present there are nine columns in position in this verandah, four of which are grouped in pairs behind the porch. The porch itself is supported by four short but heavy columns in front which stand on

[1] *Ibid, pp. 10-11.*

the benches, but among these the one at the eastern end has fallen down. Built in the wall of the verandah are the two slabs bearing the inscription, which records the erection of this monastery by the Śaiva abbot Prabōdhaśiva[1]. Central with the porch in the back wall of the verandah is a doorway with a carved stone door-frame, which leads to a small narrow passage giving access to the interior of the monastery. Carved on the left jamb of the door-frame is a fierce looking male, who is evidently Bhairava. To his right, Yamunā is standing under some foliage, with a female attendant figurine on her left. Hanging from the foliage, over the head of the goddess, is a male with hands clasped in adoration. There is also a dwarfish figure on the right, near the leg of Yamunā. Ganges stands on the right jamb with another dwarfish figure, with a vase on its head, to her left. She stands on the head of a *makara*. On Ganges's right is the figure of a female attendant and that of a male, perhaps a Śivagaṇa. The remainder of the jamb is quite plain. There are three projecting brackets on the lintel, in the centre of which is the figure of Siva dancing. The side brackets bear a standing female figure, with adoring attendants kneeling on each side. The central bracket also has kneeling figures of attendants on both sides of the figure of Śiva. This door leads, as stated above, to a small chamber, which is in reality a passage to the courtyard in the centre of the monastery. To the east of this passage there is a square chamber beneath which is one of the vaults referred to in Beglar's description. In April 1920 this chamber was full of snakes and scorpions. At the north-eastern corner of the monastery is a large room measuring 15′ 4″ square which is fitted with a carved door frame. We find Yamunā and Bhairava carved on the left jamb, the latter of whom holds a skull-mace (*Khāṭvāṅga*) and a skull-cup (*Kapāla*) in his hands. There are small attendant female figurines to the left of Yamunā. To her right a male is standing with a mace, while over his head is the figure of Nāga. On the right jamb is the figure of Ganges and to her left a male standing with a mace. A small attendant figure is visible to her right, and another male with a mace is standing by her side. On the lintel there are three brackets, on the central one of which is Gaṇēśa, seated on an embroidered cushion, with a rat to his left (Pl. III, *a*). He has four hands and holds a lotus and a round object in the two left, while in one of his right hands he holds a battleaxe, and in the other there is a vessel full of sweets (*mōdaka*). On the left bracket goddess Lakshmī with four hands is seated, holding a lotus in one of the left hands, while the other is in the posture of giving protection (*abhaya*). One of the right hands is broken, the second one holds a *kamaṇḍalu*. The bracket on the right bears a figure of Sarasvatī, also seated. She has four hands, in two of which she holds a lyre (*vīṇā*). One left hand is broken, but she catches up the fringe of her garment with the other right hand. In the eastern wall of this chamber is an opening, which perhaps lead to a porch or to a second entrance to the monastery. There is also a small door, leading to a small plain apartment on the south, this being the second room in the eastern wing, as it is not provided

[1] See Appendix C. pp. 117-22.

with a doorway, through which one may enter it from the courtyard or verandah. It may have been used as a store room. The porch on the east has fallen down and its remains are strewn on the ground. The south-east corner of the large room mentioned above has also collapsed. Again, to the south of this large apartment are two other plain chambers in a ruinous condition, the southern one of which is entered by a plain stone doorway in the eastern wall. To the south of this there is a comparatively larger chamber measuring 11′ 4″×7′ 4″, the jambs of the doorway of which are plain, but there are three brackets on the lintel. In the central one, two ascetics stand, wearing large round head-dresses, one facing the front, while the other, on his left, is facing the right. Traces of a third figure on the right are discernible on the bracket (Pl. IV. *b*). The bracket on the left bears on it a female figure with four hands, standing with lotus in her upper left, while the lower is in the posture of giving protection (*abhaya*). One of the right hands is broken, but the other holds a *Kamaṇḍalu*. A male attendant stands to the left, while to the right is a lion *couchant*. On the right bracket Sarasvatī is standing, holding a lyre in two of her hands, while the remaining left is broken. In the remaining right hand the goddess holds a lotus. The diminutive figure of a female attendant is to be found standing with a garland, on each side of the main figure. This chamber is in fact the last on the eastern side, because the square room in the south-eastern corner of the monastery is not provided with an entrance through which it can be entered directly from the verandah. The corner room is entered through the second room on the southern side of the monastery. The verandah on the eastern side of the courtyard is wider than that of any other side and is the pillared hall referred to by Beglar, measuring 35′ 6″×16′ 8″. Its roof is supported by two rows of three pillars and three pilasters on the southern side. A plain door way leads to the second chamber which has openings in its eastern and northern walls. The opening in the eastern wall leads to a room measuring 12′ 3″× 11′ 2″ in the south-eastern corner of the monastery. In this room there are pilasters along the walls to support the additional weight of the roof. The centre of the southern wing is occupied by another chamber, rectangular in shape measuring 19′ 9″×10′ 3″, the entrance to which is obtained from the verandah. The doorway is fitted with a carved stone door frame, which is exactly similar to the door frame of the large chamber in the north-eastern corner (Pl. III, *b*). There are three rooms in the western side of the south wing, but they can only be entered through the western block. The three rooms in question have almost entirely collapsed. There is only one opening from the eastern verandah to the rooms behind it and this entrance leads to a long narrow passage, which has single openings in the northern and southern walls and four more in its western wall. The doorway in the southern wall opens into a square chamber, which is the last-but-one room in the southern wing of the monastery and an opening in the eastern wall of this chamber leads to a rectangular plain chamber to its east. The south-western corner of the monastery is occupied by another room of about the same size, access to which is obtained through the southern-most of the four narrow cells, which occupy the area between the passage to the west

of the verandah and the outside western wall. The north-western corner of the monastery is occupied by a large square chamber, only a little smaller than the big chamber in the north-eastern corner. The space on the northern side, between the large square chamber in the north-western corner and the entrance passage, is occupied by two small rectangular rooms, measuring 9′×6′ 2,″ and 8′ 6″×5′ 6″. The chamber in the north-western corner is approached through the doorway in the northern wall of the passage of the western side. The small rooms to the east of this corner chamber are entered by a single doorway in the northern wall of the courtyard and an opening leading from the western one of these two chambers provides access to that to its east.

The upper floor, originally, seems to have consisted of a verandah, running along the sides of the courtyard and built over the verandah on the ground floor. In April 1920, this verandah, with a door at the south-western corner, existed on the western and southern sides only. There is a broad but low seat, provided with backrests, running along the edge of this verandah. Possibly there were three doors on the western and southern sides, but only one exists at present. The door on the west leads to a long chamber, the backwall of which has collapsed. There is also a door in the northern wall of this chamber, which goes to show that there was another chamber on the upper floor in the north-western corner of the building. The door in the south wall is also plain, but the chamber to which it leads has collapsed. A sloping cornice or *chhajja* runs all round the verandah on the interior and is exactly similar to the ribbed *chhajja*, in the Brahmanical monastery at Survaya, in the Gwalior State. Inside the courtyard are some picturesque gargoyles shaped as dwarfs turning somersaults in the air (Pl. IV, *a*). The rain water escapes through the mouths of these dwarfs.

It will be observed from the above description of the monastery that there were two classes of chambers in this building. In the first class, the door frames are perfectly plain, while in the second, these door frames are carved and the jambs and lintels bear representations of gods and goddesses, as well as of semidivine beings. Door frames of the latter class were fitted to chambers which were devoted to worship or used as shrines, while those with plain door frames were used either as dormitories or store rooms. It is uncertain for what purpose the upper storey was utilised, as at the present day, chambers built, over chambers, which are in use as shrines, cannot be used as living rooms, by Hindus, be they even Sannyāsīs. Most probably, the upper storey was either a library or school room, for the training of novices. On the ground floor, the four narrow cells, on the western side of the courtyard, were in all probability reserved for those ascetics, who were not inclined to mix with their brethren and desired seclusion for meditation without disturbance. The monastery has been built throughout of a reddish finegrained sandstone, like Kaimur sandstone. The masonry is regularly coursed ashlar without mortar. The corners of most of the stones on the surface both inside and outside are crushed, most probably on account of the expansion of the surface during the extreme

heat of the summer. Similar symptoms have been observed in the ruined temple of Kāmakandalā at Bilhari[1] in the Jubbulpore District as well as in the un-finished Vaishṇava temple on the mound at Nemawar in the Indore State[2].

Other remains belonging to the first period of the rule of the Chēdī kings have been discovered at Gurgi 12 miles due east of Rewa Town. The ruins at this place have been investigated at different times, by members of the older Archæological Survey, established by Sir Alexander Cunningham. The first person to survey it was Mr. H. W. B. Garrick, who visited it in 1881-82. Mr. Garrick's account of the vast ruins is very meagre and hardly intelligible[3]. Fortunately Sir Alexander Cunningham visited the ruins of Gurgi Masaun four years later, in 1884-85, and his description is the best that is available[4]. Both of them, however, failed to notice or at any rate to draw attention to the existence of a temple of the peculiar circular type. the first example of which was discovered by Beglar at Chandrehe. This temple is the only ancient structure which is still standing within the vast ruins at Gurgi. They also failed to notice the inscription embedded in front of the palace walls at Rewa. which, according to the statement of Dewan Bahadur Pandit Janki Prasad, formerly Private Secretary to the Maharaja of Rewa. was brought from Gurgi about half a century ago. The ruins at Gurgi fall into three well defined different groups. The first of these is the enclosure, called Rehuta. which contains the ruins of a number of temples and is generally known to have been built by Rājā *Karan Dāharīyā i.e.*, Rājā Karṇna of Ḍāhala. The second group is the huge artificial mound called Gurgaj. And the third consists of the newly discovered circular temple in Masaun village and the ruins of smaller temples on the banks of the tanks. In addition to these may be mentioned thousands of images that have been removed to Gurgi, to Rewa. to Gurh and other surrounding villages from the ruins at this place.

In order to understand the date and the nature of the ruins at Gurgi, it will be necessary in the first place to recapitulate the contents of the Gurgi inscription of Prabōdhaśiva which was removed from Gurgi to the Palace at Rewa half a century ago[5]. This inscription is not dated and it does not contain reference to any of the reigning kings. But. some of the older kings of the Chēdī dynasty, such as Kōkkalladeva and Yuvarājadēva, are mentioned in the first and in the second part of the inscription. It falls into two different parts. The first part is in verse and provides us with the spiritual genealogy of the ascetics of the Mattamayūra clan, which is discussed in Chapter IV. The second part is partly in prose and provides us with the names of some of the kings of

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[1] See below pp. 46-48.

[2] *Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1921, pp. 102-06, paras 75-78, pl. XXVII.*

[3] Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports. Vol. XIX. pp. 85-90.*

[4] *Ibid, Vol. XXI, pp. 149-54.*

[5] See Appendix C, pp. 122-26.

the Chēdī dynasty and a short account of their reigns. This part, however, ends with a list of the properties belonging to the Śaiva abbots of the Mattamayūra clan. Thus, the Gurgi inscription is a close parallel to the Bilhari inscription of the rulers of Chēdī, where also a list of Chēdī kings and a list of Śaiva ascetics of the Mattamayūra clan, who were brought by the rulers of the Chēdī country, at different times, from Western India to Ḍāhala, are to be found. The second part, or rather the last lines of it contain a list of benefactions received by the Śaiva ascetics from the kings of the Chēdī country. This inscription is not dated like the Chandrehe inscription, nor is there any reference to any ruling king of the Chēdī country: but its date can be guessed from the mention of Kokkalla II as the last prince in the genealogical portion and the reference to the conquest of Vanavāsa in the Kuntala country. The date of the Gurgi inscription can also be deduced by a reference to the Chandrehe inscription of the same person which was incised in the Kaḷachūri Chēdī year 724-972 A.D. The inscription provides us with an account of the spiritual descent of the abbot Prabōdhaśiva, who was a disciple's disciple of the abbot Prabhāvaśiva, who was brought to the Chēdī country by Yuvarājadēva, son of Mugdhatuṅga *i.e.*, by Yuvarājadēva I. Prabōdhaśiva can therefore be safely recognised as a contemporary of the kings Kokkalla II and Gāṅgēyadēva, while his spiritual preceptor, the abbot Praśāntaśiva can be taken to be the contemporary of the kings Lakshmaṇarāja, the son and successor of Yuvarāja I, and his son Śaṅkaragaṇa.

In this account, the poet has provided a list of public works initiated by the abbot Praśāntaśiva. In the first place, it is stated in verse 10 that Praśāntaśiva built a temple of Īśvara or Mahādēva close to the very high temple of Śiva built by Yuvarājadēva. It is therefore certain that a very high temple of Śiva existed at Gurgi and that a temple of Śiva was built close to it by the abbot Praśāntaśiva. In the next verse (v. 11) it is stated that the abbot Praśāntaśiva installed a number of images, in the smaller temples close to the bigger temple (*Prāsāda-sannihita-dēva-grihēshu*). Now this may refer to a number of small temples built around the larger temple erected by Praśāntaśiva or that Praśāntaśiva had built a number of smaller shrines around the tall temple erected by Yuvarājadēva. The images dedicated by Praśāntaśiva around one of these temples have been enumerated in the Gurgi inscription, and are:—Umā, Śiva with Umā, Kārttikēya, Gaṇapati and Sarasvatī. Cunningham saw two huge images, one of Śiva and Durgā and the other of a seated female deity, half way up the mound, covered with the ruins of temples, which is now called Gurgaj. The second female image can be identified as Padumā which is referred to in the Gurgi inscription. It may therefore be assumed that the abbot Praśāntaśiva had installed these images around the temple which once stood at the top of the Gurgaj mound. This mound is conical being most probably artificial, and still rises about 60 to 70 feet above from the level of the surrounding ground. Cunningham says "The great mound of temple ruins, called Gurgaj, is about 1200 feet square, and from 10 to 15 feet in height. It is a mere confused mass of rough stones, the whole of the squared stones having

been carried away to Rewa within the last twenty years by the Dewan of the late Maharaja. The sites of two large temples are now marked by deep pits and the overturned colossal figures which were once enshrined inside.

"On the east side of the mound there is a colossal figure of a four-armed goddess 9′ 3″ high and 4′ 7″ broad, seated on a lion. The right leg hands down, but the left leg is drawn up and rests on the lion. This figure is called Devī and is, no doubt, intended for the goddess Durgā, whose *vāhan* is a lion.

"On the north-west of the mound there is a still larger sculpture of Haragaurī, or Śiva and Pārvatī, lying on its face above a deep hole. The slab is 12′ 8″ long by 5′ 3″ broad. At the foot is the bull Nandi. The figures are partly cut clear. The great toran gateway in front of the Raja's Palace at Rewa is said to have stood in front of this temple facing the east. If the temple which occupies this mound bore any proportion to the size of the colossal figures which they enshrined, they must have been of considerable size,—certainly not less than 100 feet in height. I could not ascertain whether the temples had completely fallen down when the stones were removed but all the people agreed that they were in ruins. No traces of any inscription, in fact not even a single letter, could be found on this site."[1] Cunningham's account provides another important piece of information about the nature of the ruins on the Gurgaj mound, namely, that the great *tōraṇa*, standing in front of the Palace at Rewa, was originally found at the top of the Gurgaj mound. Now this *tōraṇa* bears on its upper lintel a long bas-relief representing the procession of the gods going to the house of Himālaya, the marriage of Śiva with Pārvatī, the daughter of Himālaya and the return of the bride and bridegroom on the back of Śiva's bull, Nandin, to Śiva's own abode. This bas-relief, which is described in the next chapter, indicates very clearly that the *tōraṇa* stood in front of a temple of Śiva. When Gurgi was visited in April 1920 the villagers pointed out the very pit from which the jambs of the great *tōraṇa* were excavated. This pit lies very near the summit and therefore it is clear that the temple of Śiva, in front of which this *tōraṇa* stood, was built on the top of this artificial mound. The Gurgi inscription of Prabōdhaśiva states that Yuvarājadēva had built a very tall temple of Śiva, the spire of which aspired to be as high as the Kailāsa mountain (v. 10). Allowing for poetical license, one cannot but be struck by the great height of the mound, and the height of the images found on it, indicating, as Cunningham remarked correctly, that the structure in which they were enshrined must have been about 100 feet in height. The height of the top of the *śikhara* of this temple, when it was intact, must have been a good 150 feet above the surrounding ground level. Cunningham was certainly mistaken however in taking the present height of this mound to be 10 feet to 15 feet only. The mound is conical in shape and is surrounded by at least two terraces (Pl. V, *b*). From the highest of these terraces, the top of the mound, on which a modern shrine has been built, is about 25 to 30 feet in height.

Garrick most probably wrote his account of Gurgi Masan when he had almost forgotten the actual details. He found traces of a level flooring on the

[1] Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. XXI, pp. 151-52.*

summit of the Gurgaj mound and he states that a conical hill further to the south-west still exhibits traces of a level flooring on its summit, from which a fine view can be had of the neighbouring country. This is said to have been a promenade for the former rulers of the place.[1] Now the Gurgaj mound is the only mound to which this description can be correctly applied, there being no other mound opposite of great height within the limit of Gurgi village. Yet on an earlier page Garrick states that the sculptures of Śiva and Durgā and of Dēvī, which Cunningham and others found at Gurgaj Mound, were found by him in the palace ruins. He also states that "it was from these remains that the gateway now at Rewa was exhumed."[2] About twenty feet below the highest terrace a second terrace can be discerned with difficulty, as the accumulation of debris on it and along the base of the entire mound has turned it into a slope. The surrounding ground level, however, is much lower than the second terrace. The site of the temple of Śiva built by Yuvarājadēva can safely be identified, on the evidences mentioned above, with the ruins on Gurgaj mound. It is not known which Yuvarājadēva built this temple. Evidently he was Yuvarāja I, who had brought Praśāntaśiva's spiritual preceptor Prabhāvaśiva to the country of Ḍāhala.

The enclosure called Rehuta Fort, which has been ascribed by Cunningham and others to King Karṇṇa of Ḍāhala, appears to have been a remarkably large enclosure containing temples (Pl. V, *a*). The surrounding wall, which still exists at different places, is an irregular rectangle in shape and does not seem to consist of fortifications.[3] In the first place there are no traces of any moats in front of the wall or any towers along the entire length. The nature of the ruins inside can no longer be judged as every vestige of buildings inside has been removed since Cunningham's visit in 1884-85. Even the sculptures and images have been taken away. It is possible, however, that this enclosure contained a temple and a monastery and may have belonged to the Mattamayūra ascetics, who had certainly become very powerful landlords in this country by the end of the tenth century A.D.

All round the Gurgaj mound, at Gurgi, there are numerous tanks, some of which have stone paved embankments, while others are surrounded by steps built of stone. While going from Gurgaj to the neighbouring village of Masan or Masaun, foundations of two stone built temples were found on the dam of one of these tanks. Similarly, on the road from Rehuta to the Gurgaj mound, there are foundations of two more temples. The ruins of a temple of the circular type were found on the bank of a tank very close to the village of Masaun (Pl. VI, *a* and *b*). This temple is the second example of this type of temples, the first specimen of which was discovered by Beglar at Chandrehe. In plan it is very similar to the temple at Chandrehe but there is no platform under it, and if there had been one it has either disappeared or is buried underground.

[1] *Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. XIX, p. 98.*
[2] *Ibid, p. 88.*
[3] *Ibid, Vol. XXI, pl. XXXV.*

Some traces of what may have been a platform may be discerned in front but this masonry may also have formed part of the embankment of the tank on the bank of which the temple stands. This temple, like the temple at Chandrehe, faces the west and consists of a circular *garbhagriha* and an open verandah or *maṇḍapa* in front. The body of the *garbhagriha* is constructed of regularly coursed ashlar masonry and the exterior is divided into a number of square pilasters like the Chandrehe temple. The outside as well as the inside of the *garbhagriha* is circular as in the case of the Chandrehe temple. The *maṇḍapa* in front is supported by two rows of four columns, of which two columns are grouped together in front of each row. The remaining two pillars stand apart, the hindmost being in fact a pilaster standing against the masonry of the *antarāla*. These columns stand on broad benches, which themselves are supported by short thicker pillars. A row of steps, five or six in number, lead from the ground level to the level of the *maṇḍapa*. This temple has suffered much in comparison with the Chandrehe temple, as it has lost its *śikhara*, the whole having collapsed, with the exception of the little gable-shaped projection in front. In this projection there are three separate tiers of masonry. On the topmost tier are the remains of a fine *chaitya*-window, like that at Chandrehe, and below it are three panels containing three diamond-shaped rosettes, each divided from the other by a pilaster. In the third or bottom row also are to be found three rosettes, central one on a projection and the side ones on the recessed corners, each flanked by a couple of pilasters. The roof of the *maṇḍapa* is not pyramidal like the temple at Chandrehe, but is constructed of plain slabs. A plain ribbed *chhajja* runs along three sides of the *maṇḍapa*. The projection in front of this temple appears to be a characteristic of temples of Central India at this time. It appears in almost all temples discovered of the Chēdī period, for example at Chandrehe, Gurgi, Amarkantak and Sohagpur. It has also been found in some of the temples at Khajuraha, as for instance in front of the *śikhara* of the temple of Dēvī Jagadambā (Pl. XVII, *a*) and also the temples of Chatra-ka-patra (Pl. XVII, *b*),[1] Kāṇḍāriyā Mahādēva, Nandigaṇa, Chaturbhuja, Vāmana and Viśvanātha.

So far as is known, temples with circular *garbhagrihas* have not been discovered outside the radius of the Chēdī kingdom. This particular type may therefore be called the Chēdī type of mediæval temples. It seems to have been designed by the architects employed by the Śaiva ascetics of the Mattamayūra sect in the country of Ḍāhala. On account of its resemblance to the Chandrehe temple, the Gurgi temple may be assigned to the same period. It is also quite probable that this circular temple at Gurgi is the very temple of Śiva, which, according to the statement in the Gurgi inscription, was built by the abbot Praśāntaśiva, close to the tall temple of Śiva built by King Yuvarāja I. The outer diameter of the *garbhagriha* is 16′ while that of the Gurgi temple is 17′ 3″, while the inner diameter of both the temples is 10′. The length of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the circular *garbhagriha* is 16′ 6″ and 19′ while that of the *antarāla* between is 2′ 6″ and 2′ 10″.

[1] Also called temple of Chitragupta.

The Bilhari inscription of the rulers of Chēdī leaves no doubt as to the fact that the monastery of Nauhalēśvara existed at some time at Bilhari. Enquiries made at Bilhari in April 1922 elicited the fact that the big inscription, which was taken away to Nagpur from Bilhari, was discovered on the bank of the great tank called Lakshmaṇasāgara (Pl. VII, *a*). On the eastern bank of this tank, a fortress was built by some Rajput chief from the ruins of a mediæval building which was utilised as a quarry. Even to-day, among the ruins of this fortress, sculptures and other carvings of the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. are to be found, and according to the Malguzar of Bilhari, the big inscription was found among these ruins. It is therefore quite probable that the fortress was erected on the site of the monastery, called Nauhalēśvara after the lady Nōhalā, and that its materials were utilised at the time of the building of the fortress. The tank itself appears to have been excavated by Lakshmaṇarāja, the son of Yuvarāja I. The Bilhari inscription also proved that a second monastery known as the monastery of Vaidyanātha was built by Lakshmaṇarāja or his father Yuvarāja I. Lakshmaṇarāja made the ascetic Hṛidayaśiva accept this monastery after having brought him to the country of Dāhala. Enquiries were made at Bilhari but no temple of Śiva called Vaidyanātha could be found. The present Malguzar of Bilhari, an old man of sixty, who knows the village and its surroundings thoroughly, was of opinion that the old names have all been forgotten and new names have been substituted for them in recent times ; therefore it would be practically useless to attempt to identify the ancient names at the present day. Extensive ruins have been discovered on the banks of a huge tank at Baijnath, nine miles from Rewa, on the great Deccan road leading from Calcutta to Bombay,[1] and the monastery of Vaidyanātha may have stood at this place. At present at Baijnath the ruins of only one temple are visible and this appears to have been built later than the circular temples at Chandrehe and Gurgi.

The only other temple which belongs to the earliest period of the rule of the Chēdī kings is the temple of Kāmakandalā about two miles from the modern village of Bilhari (Pl. VII, *b*). The ruins at this place are taken to be the palace of a courtesan named Kāmakandalā according to modern tradition. The remains, however, are those of a temple of Śiva and were recognised as such by Cunningham about half a century ago. Cunningham's measurements and drawings are, however, incorrect. The temple stands on the bank of a huge tank lined with stone steps which was entirely dry in April 1922. On the eastern bank lies a low hill which is called Pātparāpathār or tableland, and the temple stands on the edge of this tableland, very close to the tank. Like the temples of Chandrehe and Gurgi it faces the west. It was built on a stone platform which is now entirely covered with the ruins of the *maṇḍapa* and the *garbhagṛiha*. This platform measures approximately 91′ in length and 47′ in breadth, and there is a projection in front, 18′ in length, where the steps, leading from the ground to the level of the platform, at one time existed. In shape the

[1] *Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. XXI, pp. 154-55.*

platform is roughly rectangular though, just at the point where the *maṇḍapa* met the *garbhagriha* there is an increase in the breadth. But the breadth of the platform, at the place where the *garbhagriha* stood, is the same as that of the place where the *maṇḍapa* now stands. It is, however, perfectly clear that this temple had a square *garbhagriha* and not a circular one like the temples of Chandrehe and Gurgi. The *garbhagriha*, which is now entirely covered up by huge pieces of the *āmalaka* which once crowned the *śikhara*, was built of ashlar masonry, the inner facing of which can still be traced (Pl. VIII, *b*). In addition to the walls, the roof of the *garbhagriha* was supported by pilasters one of which is still in position and is nine feet in height from the base to the top. The shaft of this pilaster is octagonal and fluted, with the chain and lotus pattern on each of the flutings and there is a vase with overhanging foliage at the corners, both at the top and the bottom. In addition to these ornaments each pilaster is flanked by a row of lotus petals.

Only a portion of the *maṇḍapa* is now standing and the remains consist of four monolithic columns and six masonry pilasters. They now stand in the form of a cross which has lost one of its limbs. The four columns stand in the centre, while the six pilasters stand at the extremities, one pair standing at each extremity of each of the three remaining limbs of the cross. It is quite probable that the *maṇḍapa* was square in shape and its exterior walls were of ashlar masonry like the *garbhagriha*. This, in fact, is what Cunningham had proposed in his plan of this temple.[1] The four columns in the centre support four lintels, over which has been laid another frame work, octagonal in shape, cutting off the four corners, and this carried the trabeate dome over this portion. All the columns and pilasters, now standing, support lintels. On the southern side of the *maṇḍapa*, there is a small lintel on two shorter pilasters, below the larger lintel supported by the tall pilasters of ashlar masonry (Pl. VIII, *a*). This side of the *maṇḍapa* was probably entered from a small porch, similar to those to be found in the Khajuraha temples, and in the temple at Sohagpur. In the *garbhagriha*, the *liṅga* is still in position on a cracked square *arghapaṭṭa*. The shaft of the *liṅga* is circular at the top and octagonal at the bottom, the latter portion being sunk in the *arghapaṭṭa*. The circular portion of the *liṅga* measures 1′ 5″ in height and the *arghapaṭṭa*, which is square in shape, measures 4′ on each side. The northern portion however, is shaped like a drain. No data are available for judging the correct date of the temple of Kāmakandalā and it is quite possible that this temple belongs to the same date as Karṇṇa's temple at Amarkantak, *i.e.*, to the eleventh century and not to the tenth.

There are two ruined temples at Bargaon, eight miles north of Rithi Station, on the Katni-Bina Section of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway; one of these temples has collapsed entirely and nothing remains of it but a heap of stones. The other temple is still partly standing. Like the temple of Kāmakandalā at Bilhari, the *garbhagriha* of this temple has fallen, but the columns of the *maṇḍapa* are still standing in their original positions (Pl. IX, *a* and *b*). From

[1] *Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. IX, pl. VII.*

the sculptures lying scattered on all sides, it appears that the *śikhara* was decorated with the *chaitya*-window-pattern carvings and its *maṇḍapa* consisted of four columns in the centre and six columns at the end of each arm of a cross and these supported the roof. Like the temple at Bilhari, this *maṇḍapa* also was enclosed by walls of ashlar masonry. The carvings on the columns indicate that in date also it belongs to the same period as the temple of Kāmakandalā. A band of carving runs up each face of the shafts, and consists of a meandering creeper pattern with arabesque foliage in the interspaces. There is a vase at the top and the bottom of each column and pilaster, with overhanging foliage at the corners. The treatment of this overhanging foliage indicates that in date this temple was earlier than the temple of Śiva at Sohagpur or the remains discovered on the great mound at Karanbel.

In the second group of temples built during the rule of the Chēdī kings, there is no reliable evidence for deducing the dates and one has to depend more or less on tradition and the style of architecture. The earliest temple of this group is no doubt the Virāṭēśvara Śiva at Sohagpur in the Rewa State (Pl. X, *a* and *b*). This Sohagpur should not be confounded with Sohagpur in the Central Provinces. The place lies at a distance of about two miles from Sahdol Station on the Bilaspur-Katni Section of the Bengal Nagpur Railway. Like Chandrehe, the great temple of Sohagpur was visited and described by Beglar for the first time. Beglar's description is very accurate, he having recognised this temple at Sohagpur belonging to the same class as the Khajuraha temples. His description of the temple as it stood in 1873 is worth quoting. "The plan shews a square sanctum with pilasters at the corners, supporting the inner roof of intersecting squares; these pillars are plain square ones, ornamented with mouldings and bracket capitals in the usual way, but are higher than usual, and suited to the size of the sanctum wherein they are placed; in front of the sanctum is the antarala, and in front of it, the great mahamandapa; this is roofed by a dome of overlapping stones disposed in concentric circles, each fretted and coved, but without the seated statues in each fretted recess that confers on the roof at Pali its peculiar richness; the roof has tumbled in partially. The dome rests on eight double pilasters, the corners of the square mandapa being cut off by architraves diagonally between the proper pilasters; from the octagon thus formed by the architraves rises the circular dome; the pilasters are square, but richly carved, and indented at the angles; they rest on high massive bases, which confer dignity on them, and are crowned by the usual corbelled cruciform capitals. From the projecting arms of the corbelled caps rise female figures supporting, as it were, the lowest circle of the dome; the effect is very pleasing, as it is evident that the figures really have no weight to bear, nor are the dispositions of the limbs such as to denote that they are bearing a weight; they look like girls in frolic pretending to support the roof; in short, they look exactly what they are, mere ornaments, and as such are very pleasing; three of these alone exist now.

"On the two sides of the mahamandapa are openings leading into or on to the projecting windows with seats and back-rests, as in the temples at

Khajuraha: on both sides, however, the windows have suffered much. The northern window has the bottoms of its outer pillars, one at each end, crushed and worn to such an extent, that the pillar may now fairly be said to be resting on a point, and the wonder is that the point has not yet been crushed, nor the pillar thrown out of its perpendicular, but the destruction of this window cannot be far distant; at present, the vibration produced even by a man walking in the mahamandapa is distinctly felt in the tottering pillars with their superincumbent roof.

"In front of the mahamandapa is a chamber which answers to both mandapa and ardha-mandapa; it is not open on the sides, and its roof rests on whole pilasters, not dwarf pillars. The roof is of intersecting squares.

"The temple faces east. On the architrave over the entrance into the sanctum is sculptured an eight-armed male figure; over this architrave is another on which a Ganeśa is sculptured. I am not aware of any eight-armed male god among the Hindus, but the figure of Ganeśa with the argha inside is conclusive evidence of its Saivic origin; it appears to me, however, that the original floor of the sanctum had at one period been overlaid by a fresh layer of stone, which has been cut to fit the curve of the argha; if this layer, as I conjecture, has really been put on afterwards, I can see no reason for it, except the circumstance that corrosion has so acted on the lower part of the walls, that some of the stones have been nearly eaten through, and the second layer may have been meant to hide the unsightly stones and to add to the strength of the building. The corrosion or scaling off appears due to an inherent defect in the stone itself, as almost the whole of the coarse-grained reddish stone has thus suffered, whether in the floor or on the tower; at the same time the deeper-coloured, close-grained, purplish red stone of the statues does not appear to have suffered much, though it must be noticed that they are mostly protected by coats of plaster and whitewash.

"The great tower is of very elegant shape, and rises up with a gentle graceful curve, most nearly approaching in form the curves of the towers of the Jain group of temples at Khajuraha, and of the temple known as Jabar; it is ornamented by clusters of similar-shaped towers, smaller, rising up along its faces and angles to varying and progressively increasing heights, thus giving it the appearance of rising up through a great forest of similar smaller towers: it is crowned with the amalaka in the usual way; the tower is adorned exteriorly by deep rich moulding at the base, surmounted by two tiers of large and one tier of smaller statues, like the temples of the Jain group at Khajuraha; above these, the faces and facets of the tower are ornamented by the horseshoe type of sculpture used in the Jain temples mentioned before, the corners, here as there, being broken up into a series of compartments by deep lines; the resemblance is, in short, complete, with only a difference of size and of the heights to which the surrounding attached tower pilasters are allowed to rise up on the sides of the main tower.

"The antarala is roofed as usual by a gable-ended roof projecting from the main front face of the tower; the gable form is, however, broken up into

numerous steps ; the entrance into the inner upper chamber over the sanctum exists, but there are here, in addition to the front entrance, two sides openings in the projecting sides of the gable roof projection.

"The form of the roof of the *mahamandapa* externally probably resembled that of the Jabar temple ; it is now broken ; the windows probably had roofs, rising up to points as usual. and so probably had the portico.

"The sculpture is much in the style of the Khajuraha sculptures ; there are very gross obscenities, but they are placed in retired corners ; figures of women purposely exposing themselves are, however, very numerous ; the sculptures and the whole temple have had repeated coats of whitewash, and the hollows still retain the layers of whitewash.

"Internally, the walls are perfectly plain, sculpture being used solely on the pillars, roofs, and on the doorway to the sanctum ; this last is profusely sculptured ; the central figure over the doorway is an eight-armed male, holding in his right hands a trident, a mala, a figure like an hour-glass with a noose, and one hand empty : in his left he holds a sword. a skull fixed on a pole, one hand broken and one empty ; on his sides are on one side Brahmā and his wife, on the left Vishṇu and his wife ; the concluding figures on this richly sculptured architrave being Pārvatī and Ganeśa.

"In minuteness and profusion of sculpture the doorway will rival any that I know of.

"Over the doorway, a plain, deep and broad architrave having cracked, two extra pillars have been put up with the intention of supporting it ; the pillars, however, do not reach so high, and now stand doing no good, but effectually hiding the rich sculpture on the sides of the doorway.

"Three different kinds of stone have been used in building this temple, a red, a yellowish, and a purple sandstone ; the red is the worst, and everywhere peels off : the yellow is soft, but does not scale off as if attacked by saltpetre like the red ; the purple appears the hardest, but it also suffers from the weather." [1]

As it stands now, the ruins of this temple consist of the *garbhagṛiha* with its tall *śikhara*, the *antarāla* which is still complete, and portions of the *maṇḍapa*. The porches in front and on the north of the *maṇḍapa* are now entirely ruined and the roof of the *maṇḍapa* also has collapsed. The pavement of the porch in front and portions of the sides are all that remain, at the present day, of the once magnificently adorned *maṇḍapa* of this temple. Fortunately the porch on the south is intact, a small doorway in the lower part of the southern opening of the *maṇḍapa* providing access to it. Its roof is supported by two pairs of short half-columns in front and two pilasters at the back. Benches with backrests run along three sides of this porch, the backrests being covered with carvings, consisting of vertical panels containing arabesque work, separated by circular pilasters in pairs. Along the top is a band of arabesque work and

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[1] *Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. VII, pp. 240-43.*

at the bottom another horizontal band containing a row of rosettes. The portion of the front wall of this porch, below the benches, is very profusely sculptured and consists of a magnificent dado of the same style which is found in the Khajuraha temples (Pl. XI, *b*). Just above the mouldings of the plinth is a row of four-petalled rosettes, and above these a horizontal row of niches containing diamond shaped rosettes alternately sunk and flanked by round pilasters. The figures on the course above are also alternately sunk and consist of dwarfs supporting brackets over head, on which stands either a female, or a lion rampant over an elephant, in alternate panels. These lions and females have over their heads miniature temples, which consist of a narrow base with a round medallion in the centre and above, two pilasters, square in section, supporting a miniature *śikhara* on top of them. Between the pilasters are two diamond shaped rosettes in the raised panels and only one rosette in the sunken panel between the temples. The space between the *śikharas* is covered with a network of small incised squares. A portion of a similar dado is also visible on the south wall the only part still existing of the front porch.

The roof of the great *maṇḍapa* is supported by pairs of pilasters, with the winding vine-leaf-pattern down their shafts, as well as by single columns at the four corners. An octagonal stone frame, composed of heavy lintels, rests on these pilasters. On this frame is another octagonal course on which is carved a row of lotus leaves along the outer edge. Over this again are constructed the concentric rings of the great trabeate dome. The top of the dome unfortunately has fallen and only the five lower rings still remain in position. Originally a bracket sprang from the head of the capital on each of the pilasters and supported the edge of the lower course of the dome. Only three brackets on the western side of the *maṇḍapa* are still in their positions (Pl. XI, *a*). These brackets bear female figures in relief, standing beneath trees, and resemble to some extent similar figures on the Buddhist and Jaina railing pillars of the Kushana period discovered at Mathura. The bases of the pilasters in the *maṇḍapa* are shaped as vases, with foliage overhanging from the four corners. The carving on the single columns in the corners consists of a vertical row of circles, divided by two diameters at right angles to one another.

A massive and elaborately carved doorway on the western side of the *maṇḍapa* leads to the *antarāla*. Beglar's description is entirely wrong here. The door jamb on the left bears at the bottom a female figure holding a vase, over whose head is a Nāga, with clasped hands. To the left of this female is another female figure holding up a mass of ornamental foliage in her left hand, and to her left again is an attendant of Śiva, with four hands, holding a lotus and a skull-mace (*khaṭvāṅga*) in his left hands, and a drum (*ḍamaru*) and a skull-cup (*kapāla*) in his right hands. Between the attendant and the females is a small dancing male figurine, while between the two bigger female figures there are two small female figurines facing to the left. The carvings on the jamb, over these figures, consist of seven vertical bands. In the centre is a row of superimposed niches containing divine figures. On each side of each niche is a recessed corner with a dancing human figure. To the left of the dancing figures on the left side

there are two horizontal bands of arabesque work, while to the right of the right hand side figures is a round moulding bearing a meandering vine-leaf-pattern. There are altogether five superimposed niches in the centre of each jamb. The figures on the left jamb beginning from the bottom are (1) Sarasvatī, (2) Śiva and Durgā, (3) two figures worshipping a *liṅga*, (4) a goddess with four hands, holding a *vīṇā* in two of her hands, while in the other two she holds a rosary and a *kamaṇḍalu*, and (5) Brahmā with four hands. The base of the right jamb is exactly similar to that on the left. Most probably the larger female figures, close to the entrance, represent the Ganges and the Yamunā, but as the feet of both have been broken it is impossible to say whether their vehicles the *makara* and the tortoise were there originally. An attendant on the extreme right of the jamb holds a thunderbolt (*vajra*) and a rosary (*akshasūtra*) in his left hands while in his right he holds a trident (*triśūla*) and a dagger (*kṛipāṇa*). There is a group of five small flying figurines at the bottom of each of the bands, on both the jambs, but in the case of the left jamb these figures cannot be distinguished on account of the accumulation of whitewash. Over these figures the ornamentations on the right jamb consist of seven vertical bands as on the other. On the three vertical bands on the inner side of the jamb are (1) a row of small figures with clasped hands, (2) eight flying figures, and (3) a row of rosettes, all of which are carried on the lintel. The lintel has three projections or brackets, one in the centre and one on either side, each being shaped as lotus with a hanging fringe of arabesque work. On the bracket on the left is Sarasvatī, seated cross legged, with eight hands, two of which hold a *vīṇā*. Two of the left hands hold a lotus (*padma*) and a rosary (*akshasūtra*) while the remaining one is in the posture of blessing (*varamudrā*). In one of the right hands she holds a book (*pustaka*), in a second a *kamaṇḍalu* or *ghaṭa* and the third is in the position of protection (*abhaya-mudrā*). Below the throne on which the Goddess is seated is her *vāhana*, the goose, with a kneeling devotee on each side. In the space on the lintel between the central and left brackets, Brahmā is to be found seated, with four hands, holding a sacrificial ladle (*sūrpa*) in one of his left hands while the other is in the posture of giving protection (*abhaya-mudrā*). He holds a book and a *kamaṇḍalu* in his right hands. After him is a standing figure with a *vīṇā* in two of her hands and is evidently Sarasvatī once more, while on the right is another figure of Brahmā exactly similar to that described above. The presence of two figures of Brahmā and Sarasvatī at one and the same place cannot be accounted for. The central bracket bears a figure of Śiva dancing the *tāṇḍava*. He has eight hands and holds in his left hands (1) a small drum (*ḍamaru*), (2) a trident (*trīśūla*), (3) a rosary (*akshasūtra*), (4) *tarjanīmudrā*. In his right hands he holds a bow (*dhanu*), (2) a skull mace (*khaṭvāṅga*), (3) blessing (*varamudrā*), (4) giving protection (*abhayamudrā*). A male seated near the foot of the god is playing on two drums. Similar figures of the musicians are also to be found in the bas-relief in cave No. I at Badami. Between the central and the right brackets there are three figures. On the left Vishṇu is seated with four hands holding a mace in the upper left hand while the lower is in the posture of giving protection, and a wheel and a conchshell in the right hands. To his right is

a standing female with two hands, holding a vase with them. On the extreme right is to be found *Kamalātmikā* or, as she is popularly called, *Gaja-Lakshmī*, seated, with an elephant on each side, pouring water over her head, from vases held in their trunks. The goddess has four hands and holds a lotus in two of her upper hands. The remaining left hand is in the posture of giving protection (*abhaya*) while in the remaining right hand she holds a conch. The bracket on the extreme right bears a dancing figure of Gaṇēśa with six hands. He holds in his left hands (1) an arrow (*śara*), (2) a battleaxe (*paraśu*), (3) a book (*pustaka*) and in his right hands (1) a dagger (*kripāṇa*), (2) a pot of sweets (*mōdaka*), and (3) a noose (*pāśa*). Over these figures, the band on the extreme left or right of the jambs, containing the meandering vine-creeper, is continued. Above the lintel is a large slab of stone bearing on the right half, from the left, Śiva and the seven divine mothers (*Sapta-mātaraḥ*), and ending with Vārāhī and Chāmuṇḍā, followed by Gaṇeśa. On the left half of this slab we have the nine planets.

The antarāla is a small chamber, measuring 8′ 9″ × 4′ and within it are small pilasters each with a bracket capital, on the arms of which is a sprawling *gaṇa* playing on a conch shell. The length of the entire temple is 51′ out of which the length of the *garbhagriha* is 9′ 9″ and the *maṇḍapa* 20′ 3″. At one time there appears to have been a stone platform, the inside of which has now sunk a good deal. The sinking has caused a good deal of damage to the *śikhara* so that unless the entire temple is underpinned and thoroughly repaired there is very little chance of its surviving for another half a century. Above the mouldings of the plinth the body of the *garbhagriha* is covered with three bands of sculptures, which contain, like the temples of Khajuraha, either images of gods and *Śivagaṇas* or attendant figures. It may be noted here that the temple at Sohagpur is profusely ornamented with indecent figures like some of the Khajuraha temples. On each of the recessed corners of the *garbhagriha* is a miniature *śikhara*, while four larger miniature *śikharas* lean against four faces of the main *śikhara*. The main *śikhara* is entirely covered with the conventional *chaitya*-window pattern. The stones of the tall spire are keyed in their position by a large circular stone, on which are set a very large *āmalaka* and two more gradually diminishing in size. On each face of the *garbhagriha* and in the centre of each of the three bands mentioned above, is a row of superimposed niches, each containing a divine figure. These niches are flanked by square pilasters with three projecting bands on the shaft of each. The niches contain divine figures such as Pārvatī and Śiva dancing the *tāṇḍava* dance (Pl. XII).

Allied to the temple at Sohagpur are the group of temples at Amarkantak, the supposed source of the Narmadā and the Śōṇa. As such, Amarkantak is mentioned in the oldest of the Purāṇas, the Matsya Purāṇa, where it is described in the 186th chapter and in the last verses of the 188th chapter. Two places in Amarkantak are mentioned specially, one of which is Jvālēśvara, the second being called Amarēśvara. Another place is also mentioned in the 186th chapter, *viz.*, Rudrakōṭī. In January 1921 none of the existing structures at Amarkantak were known by these names. The group of temples at Amarkantak is divided into two distinct parts. The earliest part, which contains the largest and most

ancient temples and the older images, is now forsaken entirely by pilgrims, who are taken by the Deccani Brahmins, who now officiate at this holy place, to a group of entirely modern structures and a quite new *kuṇḍa,* which is now represented as the source of the rivers Narmadā and the Śōṇa.

In the older group the most important temple is a triple-shrined temple of Mahādēva which is ascribed by local tradition to *Rājā Karaṇ Ḍāharīyā, i.e.,* King Karṇṇa of Ḍāhala (Pl. XIII). This temple stands on an eminence, almost in the centre of the plateau of Amarkantak. It, or rather this group of temples, is quite different from the regular north-Indian temples with which one is familiar in Hindustan, and in plan the temple varies considerably from the temples of the Chēdī country described before. Beglar, who visited Amarkantak in 1873-74, was the first person to describe the ruins at Amarkantak at length. Writing about this temple he states: "Architecturally, however, there is but one temple deserving of interest, and that is the great deserted one known as the Karan Mandir and traditionally ascribed to Karṇṇa Rājā.

"As it stands at present, it has the appearance of three distinct temples on one large raised platform, but this is due either to the great connecting mahamandapa having been destroyed, or never completed: it will be seen from the plan that there are three temples disposed on three sides of a square, the fourth side being unoccupied, and the platform at that end broken. The platform is not a square, but cruciform following the outline of the temples, but larger in every way so as to leave a bench all round: the projecting corners of the platform at the angles of the three arms of the cross are now quite meaningless, but if we prolong the lines of the three temples in front of the entrances 10 feet, we will find that the inner space left permits of a square 25 feet in width being described, which will leave just the same bench between *its* walls and the platform square, as is now left by the temples between *their* walls and the edges of the arms of the cruciform platform. If, now, we suppose the thickness of the walls of this square so described to be the same as that of the existing projecting portion of walls or pillars in front of the entrances of the existing temples, or about 3¼ feet, we shall have a clear square of about 18½ feet in the centre as the clear space of what would then be the mahamandapa; the convenient size thus obtained being just what would not be too large for an overlapping dome, nor yet too small compared to the size of the sanctum, as will be seen on comparison with other examples of the ordinary type. The temple would then consist of three sanctums, three antaralas each 10 feet long, a great mahamandapa 18½ or 19 feet square, a mandapa equal to the antarala or 10 feet square, and an ardhamandapa rather smaller, and this temple would thus be the second specimen of the unique type of temple which exists at Makarbai near Mahoba: although at first sight this type is widely different from the ordinary type of Hindu temples, yet on examination it is found to be nearly a slightly modified form of it, the window projections of the transepts being here replaced by antaralas on each side, and the windows themselves replaced by a door each, opening, however, not into the open air, but into a sanctum equal and similar to the principal sanctum. The superb magnificence, however, of such a temple with its three

tall and profusely sculptured lofty towers of graceful outline can only be realised by actual sight ; unfortunately, the only complete existing example I am aware of at Makarbai is small, and so confined within a mass of huts, as to render even a good view, embracing the whole, impossible, and a photograph impracticable. besides which, that temple is buried under accumulations of rubbish to a depth of about six feet.

"This temple. therefore, is singularly interesting for its size and design, and it is a thousand pities it never was completed : the mouldings are bold and elegant. but perfectly plain. as is in fact the whole temple : the little carving that exists is confined to the upper portions of the towers, and is merely the plain horse-shoe type, of which a fine example is the smaller Jain temple at Khajuraha, but here it is not so rich nor so deep, and portions are even merely marked with the chisel in outline and not cut, proving that the temple has been left unfinished : the triple row of plain projecting blocks over the basement mouldings were no doubt intended to be cut into statues as at Khajuraha ; some of the blocks have even a little unmeaning shallow carving on them, either the first outlines of statues for the guidance of the sculptors or attempts of some after age at completion of the temple.

"The towers rise up with a curved outline ; the curve is not of the type of the Sripur brick temple or the Barakar type of Bengal ; it is of the Khajuraha or Northern India type...... Here it is enough to notice the type of the tower as one more of the evidences which places this temple within the Northern or rather Central India class, and not among the eastern class of temples : the projecting entrance in front has, as usual, the projecting gable roof which here is straight-sided and not curved, as is sometimes the case ; there is the usual small entrance in it. vertically over the great entrance into the sanctum below, and giving access to the chamber over the flat roof of the sanctum, for here, as elsewhere, universally, in stone temples, the sanctum has an inner roof of intersecting squares within the tower roof. Internally the temples are perfectly plain ; the material is a coarse, hard reddish conglomerate ; the architraves of all the sanctums have the lotus as a symbol carved on the centre : the principal sanctum once had a statue, as there are fragments of what I suspect was the pedestal or singhasan still *in situ* : now, however, a large lingum and argha are set up in the centre : the argha is clumsily set into the floor ; it is broken on the left and north side : a gargoyle projects from the outer face of the tower to let out the water of libations ; the gargoyle does not deliver the water openly, but resting on a dwarf hollow pillar and pierced with an outlet at the bottom over the hollow of the pillar it delivers the water into the hollow of the pillar, and thence underground away to a distance ; this is the only sanctum that has this gargoyle, the others are without outlets for water ; they also now enshrine lingams set in arghas, but I doubt if such was their original purpose."[1]

This triple-shrined temple was indeed new to Beglar who had most probably not seen any temples of this type in Khandesh or in the Deccan. Besides the

[1] Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. VII, pp. 227-29.*

small temple found by him at Makarbai other examples have since been discovered in Central India. One of these is situated in the village of Deoguna on the same plateau as the village of Bhumra where the Gupta temple was discovered.[2] This plateau is in the States of Nagode and Jaso, Bhumra being in the Nagode portion while Deoguna is in the small part belonging to the Jagir of Jaso. A similar small temple was discovered in the northern part of Malwa, in the village of Kukdesvar, which is now included in the Garoth District of the dominions of His Highness the Maharaja Holkar.[3] It would appear that King Karṇṇa must have seen one of these triple-shrined temples during one of his numerous campaigns in Western India and may have built this temple after the model of these south-western shrines. The space between the three shrines of the temples in Western India is usually occupied by the *maṇḍapa*. In the present case the *maṇḍapa* was supported by columns, the bases of which are still standing; while the fourth arm of the cross was occupied by a small porch in front of which was a flight of steps. There is no evidence to indicate that the *maṇḍapa* was not completed: in fact, the projection in front of the central temple shows that originally there was a stair-case at that point. It cannot be understood now, how Beglar missed this fact and for what reasons he thought that the western side was incomplete. The original plan of the architect was to reproduce one of the triple-shrined temples, which the king or he himself had seen in Western India. The approach-way to this group was from the west where there were steps right in front of the *maṇḍapa* as indicated by masonry of huge blocks of conglomerate, called Kankar in North India, some of which have been quarried away, very probably when the later group of temples was being built. The three *antarālas* in front of the three temples also seem to have collapsed and their remains also to have been carried away for building the new group of temples at this place. The *śikharas* of these three shrines resemble the northern type and bear a great resemblance to that of the temple at Sohagpur described above (Pl. XIV, *b*). Of the three temples, the one on the north is now in ruins, as its *śikhara* has collapsed; but the core of the *garbhagṛiha* is still in a fair state of preservation. This temple faces the south and there are two *arghapaṭṭas* inside it with a broken *liṅga* in one of them. The roof of the sanctum is supported by four pilasters at the four corners and three corbels in each of the three walls. These corbels are shaped like one of the arms of a square bracket capital. On each side of the roof, the pilasters and the corbels support a heavy lintel, from which the trabeate roof springs. A delicate design, to some extent resembling the heraldic *fleur-de-lys*, is sculptured in low relief on the ceiling and the top is carved to represent a fully blossomed lotus. The passage to the *garbhagṛiha* is roofed by massive lintels, the additional strength being necessitated by the heavy weight they had to support, *viz.*, that of the gable-roof in front. The jambs of the doors bear on them a flat, twisting creeper pattern which is very vigorous in execution in spite of its simplicity (Pl. XIV, *a*). On both sides of this

[2] *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 16, pp. 1—14.*

[3] *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1920, p. 95, paras 116-17.*

door are a pair of pilasters bearing a similar pattern. These pilasters support large square bracket capitals, which in their turn carry a heavy lintel, decorated with the same pattern. The bases of each of these pilasters consist of a round vase with foliage hanging down at the sides. They resemble very much the pilasters and pillars of the ruined temple discovered recently on the mound of ruins at Karanbel in the Jubbulpore District.[1] Beglar's surmises on the ornamentations of the exterior of the *garbhagrihas* appear to be wrong. The architect did not intend to have bands of divine or semi-divine figures around the middle of the exteriors as at Khajuraha, and this is proved by the fact that the niches on each of the three sides of each of the *garbhagrihas* are occupied by diamond-shaped rosettes and not by images. There are two rows of superimposed niches on each side of each of these temples, and another row is to be found outside the walls of the *antarāla*. In some cases, these niches are empty, while in others, as for example, the temple on the south, all niches on the outer wall contain diamond-shaped rosettes. The lintel of the doorway in each temple bears a row of rosettes. The gables, over the *antarālas* of these temples, are entirely devoid of carving up to a height of five feet from the lintels supported by the pilasters on either side of the doorways. At this point there are two horizontal bands of mouldings and, then, above it a row of rosettes alternated with pilasters in relief. Over this is the roof, triangular in shape, the apex of which is 9′ 10″ in height from its base. The sides of this gable-shaped roof are stepped and are covered with *chaitya*-window-shaped ornaments, and above and central with it is a fine *chaitya*-window containing an ellipsoid medallion with a rosette in it. The total length of the platform on which the temple stands is 87′ and the present total breadth 56′ 6″. The length of the *garbhagriha* on the north is 22′ and its breadth 18′. The measurements of the *garbhagriha* on the east are 21′ 6″×18′, and the southern *garbhagriha* is almost identical with it.

Beglar mentions "a half ruined temple consisting simply of a cell with a portico" two hundred feet to the north of this temple.[2] This portico was supported on sixteen pillars. The position of the ruins of this temple is now marked by a big mound. To the north of this shrine is a row of three small cells or temples in a line. "These are very small and consist only of a cell each with a small tower." These three temples contain images and are much later in date than Karṇṇa's triple-shrined temple or the ruined *maṇḍapa*, which is No. 2 of Beglar's list. To the west of this small shrine there is a large temple now known by the name of Kēśava-nārāyaṇa (Pl. XV). This is No. 6 in Beglar's description. Beglar was informed that this temple had been built by the Bhonsles of Nagpur, but in reality it is an ancient temple which may have been partly rebuilt by the Bhonsle Rajas in the 18th century. Originally there was only one shrine to the south, with a *maṇḍapa* on the north, but later on, another shrine has been added on the west. In the bigger shrine on the south is a fine image of Vishṇu of the usual northern type. The smaller shrine contains another old image of Vishṇu. The *maṇḍapa* is practically open on all four

[1] See Pl. XIX.

[2] Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. VII, p. 230.*

sides and its roof rests on short dwarf columns, which again stand on benches running along the sides of the *maṇḍapa*. The latter has only one opening on the eastern face and consists of a stone door-frame fitted between two of the dwarf columns in the centre. The *maṇḍapa* was built on a plain square platform and the only ornaments on it are to be found outside the back-rests of the benches, these being divided into rectangular panels by means of twin pilasters. The roof of the shrine is pyramidal in shape and appears to have been repaired at some later date. Beglar seems to have found this temple or rather group of temples whitewashed, but whitewash is not in evidence anywhere at present, except on the columns and the benches of the *maṇḍapa*. As in the case of the temple of Karṇṇa the niches on the wall of both of the *garbhagṛihas* contain diamond-shaped rosettes (Pl. XV).

Standing close to this temple to its north is another old temple called the temple of Machchhēndranātha. This temple consists of a *garbhagṛiha* on the north-west and a *maṇḍapa* in front of it, *i.e.*, to the south-east. The *maṇḍapa* which measures 42′×37′ 9″ like the previous one, is supported by four columns in the centre and twelve more arranged in the form of a hollow square. These latter are dwarfed and stand on the benches. No attempt appears to have been made to repair this temple at any time, but none the less it is in a tolerably good state of preservation. The only entrance to the *maṇḍapa* is on the east, and it is fitted with a stone door frame ornamented with a meandering creeper pattern, sculptured on the upper half of the jambs and on the lintel. The lower parts of the jambs are plain but the sill is decorated with the same pattern. The exterior dado of the *maṇḍapa* consists of panels alternately sunk and ornamented with arabesque work. Above this dado are the back-rests which are also carved. This carving consists of arabesque work at the top and the bottom, the space in the middle being divided into oblong panels, containing arabesque work, which are separated from each other by pairs of circular pilasters. All the columns of the *maṇḍapa* are circular and the ceiling was apparently of the same type as that of the *maṇḍapa* of the temple described before. The *śikhara* of the temple, which is in an excellent state of preservation, is of the Orissan type (Pl. XVI. *b*). The sides are slightly curved and the whole is covered with a conventional *chaitya*-window pattern. There are two *āmalakas*, one large and one small, on the top of the *śikhara* and above all is the rounded crest jewel (*chūḍāmaṇi*). On each face of the *garbhagṛiha* are two superimposed niches, all of which are empty. Within is an old *arghapaṭṭa*. The roof of the shrine is constructed on the same principle as that of the temple of Karṇṇa, but in this case the four columns in the corners, supporting a frame, on which the trabeate roof rests are covered with a simple arabesque design. There is a projecting gable in front of the *śikhara*, the ornamentations on which are precisely the same as that to be found in any of the three temples ascribed to Karṇṇa. The exterior of the *antarāla* also bears two niches, which contains diamond-shaped rosettes. This temple is No. 7 of Beglar's description.

To the east of this temple and on the south bank of the ancient stone paved *kuṇḍa* stands the temple, which was in ruins in Beglar's days, but which has

since been partly rebuilt. At present the temple cannot be recognised as an ancient one, but still it is very interesting on account of the image which it contains. This image was originally composed of four different slabs, of which three were placed vertically on the ground side by side, while the fourth was placed on the top of these three, forming the top of the backslab. The last one, however, has disappeared. Out of the three vertical slabs, the one in the centre bears the main figure while the side ones bear pilasters and form part of the backslab. The main figure is that of a female standing on a fully expanded lotus. She has four hands and holds a lotus in her upper right hand, while the lower holds a *kamaṇḍalu*. The upper left arm is broken but the lower holds a rosary. On each side of the leg of the main figure, a bearded Ṛishi is seated in meditation, while on each side of her head is a garland-bearing *gandharva*-couple. Below the lotus, on which the main figure stands and the pedestal, is a clear space in which a bearded male figure is seated crosslegged, with hands clasped in front in adoration ; while on each side a female attendant is kneeling with a fly-whisk in their hands. On the side slabs are two recessed corners at the bottom. The first corner on the right bears two kneeling female figures, while on the second another male wearing a turban is seated crosslegged. Over the first recessed corner is a pilaster, bearing one large and a small female figurine in relief against it. The larger female figure holds a fly-whisk. Over the second recessed corner a bearded male is standing with a vase in his right hand, while the left is held up, in the posture of giving protection. Over this figure a female is kneeling with hands clasped in adoration, over whom is a rampant lion. On the top another male is standing on a bracket. Near the top of the pilaster there is a *gandharva*-couple carved in relief against it. The slab on the left is exactly similar to that on the right with the single exception that the figure at the bottom on the second recessed corner, is bearded.

This image appears to be the original image of the goddess Narmmadā, which, for some reason or other, has lost its sanctity, together with the stone paved *kuṇḍa* in front of it, which must originally have been supposed to be the source of the rivers Śōṇa and Narmadā. The cause of this loss of sanctity is not known to the Deccani Brahmins who now officiate as priests in the modern shrine of Narmadā. These priests profess ignorance about the identity of this figure. The interior of the old temple in which this image is enshrined has not been repaired. The broken lintel over the doorway is being supported by an old stone pillar. There was a *maṇḍapa* in front, the stone paved platform of which is still existing. This temple is No. 8 of Beglar's list.

The next temple is now entirely ruined. It was partly standing in Beglar's time. The *maṇḍapa* and *śikhara* have collapsed and the exterior facing of the *garbhagriha* has disappeared, leaving the core exposed. The interior of the *garbhagriha* is perfectly plain. There is an old pedestal inside it on which stands a fine image of Vishṇu with figures of the ten incarnations on its backslab. This image of Vishṇu is now called Śōṇabhadra, *i.e.*, an image of the river Śōṇa ! To the east of this ruined temple, which is No. 9 of Beglar's description, is another

temple called the temple of Pātālēśvara (Pl. XVI, *a*). In plan this temple is exactly similar to the temple of Machchhēndranātha, described above (No. 7 of Beglar's list). With the exception of portions of the *śikhara* and of the back-rests of benches, it is in a fairly good state of preservation. Certain portions of the *śikhara* bear traces of whitewash, which may indicate that it was partly rebuilt at some later date. But the carving on slabs forming the *śikhara* shows that the original position of these stones has not been disturbed. The temple consists of a *maṇḍapa* and a *garbhagriha*, there being no porch either in front or on the sides of the *maṇḍapa*, as in the case of the temples of Kēśava-nārāyaṇa and Machchhēndranātha. Access is obtained to the interior of the *maṇḍapa* through an opening on the western side or the front of the *maṇḍapa* where a stone door frame has been fitted. The upper part of the *maṇḍapa* is open on all sides, the lower being enclosed on three sides with stone benches having back-rests. The back of the back-rests, as well as the exterior face of this wall below the benches, is ornamented. The ornamentation is similar to that in the *maṇḍapa* of the temple of Machchhēndranātha. The back of the back-rests contains two bands at the top and the bottom. The upper band consists of a meandering creeper pattern while the lower band consists of a row of lotus petals. The space between them is occupied by vertical oblong panels, containing arabesque work, separated by pairs of round pilasters. The shafts of the pillars, which support the roof of the *maṇḍapa*, are round at the top, octagonal in the middle and hexagonal at the bottom. Most of them are short and rest on the benches, but four pillars in the centre and two pilasters, leaning against the *antarāla*, are longer and rest on the pavement. The ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* is divided into nine rectangles, each covered by a trabeate dome. Unlike others, this temple faces the west and the floor of its *garbhagriha* is far below that of the *maṇḍapa*, while the latter is about a foot below the surrounding ground level. The dado of the *maṇḍapa*, *i.e.*, the portion under the bench towards the north, is half buried in the soil. Seven steps lead from the level of the *maṇḍapa* down to the floor of the *garbhagriha*. Inside it is an old *liṅga* and an *arghapaṭṭa*. Outside its walls, there is a niche on each face, of which the eastern and southern ones contain large diamond-shaped rosettes. Unlike other temples, the exterior of the *garbhagriha* is covered with the *chaitya*-window-pattern, with which portions of the *śikhara* also are entirely covered. The *śikhara* of this temple and that of the temple of Machchhēndranātha are dwarfish and look like the later temples of the eleventh and twelfth century at Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa. There is only one *āmalaka* on the *śikhara* of this temple. The gable over the *antarāla* is also present in this case. The roof of the *maṇḍapa* is in a fair state of preservation and consists of a stepped pyramid, on the top of which is a large square piece of stone on which the *āmalaka* and the crest jewel (*chūḍāmaṇi*) have been placed. A low narrow *chhajja* runs along the sides of the *maṇḍapa*. With the exception of these temples, the remaining temples of Amarkantak are either in ruins or modern. The second group consists entirely of modern shrines which are absolutely of no interest except for the ancient statues and images they contain which will be described in the next chapter.

Baijnath is a small village lying at a distance of one mile from the Sutna-Rewa road, nine miles from Rewa and 23 miles from Sutna station. Cunningham visited Baijnath in 1884-85. During the month of July of one of these years the *maṇḍapa* of the ruined temple at this place collapsed. Cunningham says that at one time Baijnath possessed five or six temples, of which one was standing in his time.[1] In April 1920 this temple was still standing in the same state (Pl. XVIII, *b*). This is the temple of Vaidyanātha Mahādēva and probably it is the same as that given by King Lakshmaṇarāja to the Śaiva ascetic Hridayaśiva[2] as mentioned in the Bilhari inscription of the rulers of Chēdī. Since Cunningham's visit a portion of the *śikhara* has also collapsed. The outline of the *maṇḍapa* can be traced from its pavement, where the bases of the pillars, which once supported the roof of the *maṇḍapa*, are still in position.

The temple, as it stands at present, consists of the ruins of the *garbhagṛiha* and the *antarāla*. The latter possesses a finely carved stone door-frame. On the sill there are lions and elephants on each side, facing the circular projection in the centre. This projection bears two conventional trees. There is a small recessed corner on each side bearing sunken panels, which contain human figures. The jambs on each side are elaborately carved. The bottom bears the usual figures of Ganges and Yamunā. Here we find Ganges on the right, with a *makara* below her feet. Two female attendants and a *śivagaṇa* stand to her right, with a Nāga near her head. The left jamb bears the figure of Yamunā standing on a tortoise. Over the head of each of these goddesses is a canopy formed by a pair of parrots, holding a single garland jointly in their beaks. Over this group, the jamb is covered with five vertical bands of carving. Thus, on the extreme right of the right jamb is a band bearing a meandering-creeper-pattern, which is continued on the lintel, and in the interspaces of which is ornamental foliage. The second band consists of a superimposed row of lions rampant on recessed corners. In the central band is a row of niches, four in a superimposed row, each containing amorous couples. The fourth band consists of another superimposed row of lions rampant on rosettes and finally, on the extreme left, we have a narrow band containing diamond-shaped and round rosettes, alternately. The last three bands are also continued on the lintel. In the centre of the lintel there is a panel bearing a bas-relief, beginning with a female standing on the left, with two hands between a pair of plantain trees. She holds a lotus in her right hand. To the left of this are six seated figures of the seven *Mātṛikās*, all with two hands. The fifth and sixth figures are those of Vārāhī and Chāmuṇḍā. After Chāmuṇḍā, is Gaṇēśa seated with another male figure with two hands, evidently Śiva. In the centre of the lintel is a niche, on a projection, flanked by two round pilasters, containing a figure of Śiva as Lakulīśa. He has four hands, two of which hold a lotus, while two others are in the *Dharmma-chakra-mudrā*. The space on the lintel, to the right of this central niche, is occupied by seated figures of the nine planets. At the right end of the

[1] Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. XXI, pp. 154-55.*

[2] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I, pp. 259, 268.*

lintel is a female standing, with two hands, the left of which is held aloft over her head, while the right is placed on her left breast.

There is a plain trabeate dome over the *antarāla*, over which are the remains of the projecting gable in front. Inside the *garbhagriha*, the *liṅga* does not occupy the exact centre. The southern side of the exterior facing of the *garbhagriha* and the *śikhara* is partly uninjured. The northern side has partly collapsed. From the existing portion we learn that the *śikhara*, in this case also, was covered with a modified *chaitya*-window-pattern. There is a niche in the southern wall of the *antarāla* and two large and one small niches in the south wall of the *garbhagriha*. All of these are empty except the central niche on the southern face, which contains an image of Gaṇēśa. Here there is a departure from the usual rule in temples of the country of Ḍāhala, according to which, the niches on the exterior of *garbhagrihas* generally contain rosettes and not images. A portion of the backwall of the *garbhagriha* has collapsed, in the north-western corner, while the entire outer facing of the northern wall of the same has disappeared. Some sculptures, seen by Cunningham, are now worshipped and have been placed inside a hut, to the south-west of this temple, and some more are lying outside under trees, indicating that at one time Baijnath possessed a large number of temples. The temple of Vaidyanātha itself stands on the bank of a huge lake which has now become shallow and which in April 1920 was covered with lotus flowers in full bloom.

A small temple of Śiva, similar to the temple of Vaidyanātha Mahādeva at Baijnath, was discovered in the working season of 1921-22 at Marai in the small state of Maihar (Pl. XX, *a*). Maihar must have been included in the dominions of Kaḷachūri-Chēdis. The village of Marai nestles at the feet of the northern slope of the Kaimur range and must have been a place of considerable importance in the tenth and eleventh centuries, judging from the ruins that now lie scattered all over the village. At the eastern extremity of the village there is a fine stepped tank formed by building a dam against the slope of the hill, where rain water is collected. The dam is on two sides of the tank, the hill side protecting the remaining one of the triangular area. On this dam stood more than one ancient temples, the ruins of which now lie scattered on it. Judging from the execution of the sculptures it appears that these temples were built in the eleventh century and therefore of the same date as the temple of Sohagpur, Amarkantak and Baijnath.

Thakur Karansingh, the owner of the village of Marai, pointed out an entirely new temple, which lies inside the village. The temple is smaller in size than the temple at Baijnath and stands on a stone built platform which is approximately 100 ft. in length and 50 ft. in breadth. In the centre of this platform, there is a smaller platform about six feet higher than the larger one. The main temple stands on this platform. The *maṇḍapa* has entirely collapsed, like the temple of Vaidyanātha at Baijnath and its plinth lies buried in the massive stones of its ruins. Only the side walls of the *antarāla* and the main *garbhagriha* are still standing. The latter has lost its *śikhara* entirely. The walls of the former are plain and the masonry is regularly coursed ashlar, like

that of the temple at Baijnath. The door frame of the temple is finely carved. On the right jamb we find Ganges on the left, with a *makara* near her feet and a Nāga over her head. In front a female is standing with two hands, both of which are broken. On the left is a seated male attendant, while on the right a female attendant is standing. On the extreme right is a *Śivagaṇa*, with a *triśūla* in his left hand. An inverted lotus leaf over the head of Ganges forms a canopy. Small monkeys are seated over this lotus leaf. among Ṛishis and other figures. Over the head of this group, the jamb is divided into two bands. the first of which consists of a superimposed row of niches. with a recessed corner on each side and the second is a round band with a row of lions rampant. with human figures on their backs, in the interspaces. These figures are fighting with the lions. In the first band there are four niches, all of which contain amorous couples. and a male is dancing on each of the recessed corners. The left jamb is similar to the right one, except for the fact that Yamunā, who has replaced Ganges, is standing on the back of a tortoise. The female in front of Yamunā is broken and the *Śivagaṇa* to the left of the female attendant holds a skull-mace (*khaṭvāṅga*). On the lintel there are three niches, one at each end and one in the centre. Between them there are three bands of carving, in two parts. The first band consists of a row of *Gandharvas* bearing garlands. The second band consists of the nine planets, while the third consists of Śiva and the Seven Divine Mothers. The niche or bracket on the left bears the figure of Brahmā seated with four hands holding a sacrificial ladle (*sūrpa*) and a rosary (*akshasūtra*) in his left hands while the right hands are broken. The goose, the *vāhana* of Brahmā, is carved to the right of the cushion on which the god is seated. The central niche contains a figure of Śiva as Lākulīśa, seated on a lotus. A Ṛishi is seated on a smaller lotus under the big lotus on each side of its stem. Śiva has four hands, of which two are in the *Dharmma-chakra-mudrā* and two are broken. There is a *Gandharva* with garlands on each side of the head. Outside the pilasters of the niche. which are round in all three niches, there is a lion rampant over the head of a kneeling devotee. on a recessed corner. The niche on the right contains the figure of Vishṇu, on Garuḍa. with four hands, all of which are broken. Of the three bands of carving between these three brackets, the first part of the second band bears the seated figures of a female, followed by those of the Sun, Moon, Maṅgala and Budha with Guru or Bṛihaspati. In the third band there is a seated figure of Śiva with four hands, playing on a *vīṇā*, followed by three of the Mothers. In the second part of these two bands are to be found Śukra. Saturn, Rāhu and Kētu in the second band. while in the third band are the figures of the four Divine Mothers, ending with Chāmuṇḍā and Gaṇēśa. There is a separate circular door-step on which the sill rests. This door-step has a conch on each side as in the case of the temple of Lakshmīnārāyaṇa at Kohala in the Indore State.[1] The sill consists of a tree on the circular projection in the centre, with a female standing with a lotus on a

[1] *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1920, p. 85, para. 77.*

recessed corner, on each side of this tree. Then come two males seated on ornamental foliage in a panel. Finally, on each side, there is a niche. under each of the jambs. containing mutilated human figures. On a recessed corner on each side there is a lion rampant while on the other side is another recessed corner with a male or female attendant.

The temple at Marai is almost square and there are only four recessed corners between each right angle. Originally, there was a niche flanked by square pilasters in the centre of each of the three faces. The niche on the northern side has collapsed. The facing of the *garbhagriha* on this side has also fallen. Portions of the facing of the southern wall has suffered. The west or the backwall is comparatively in a good state of preservation. There are two rows of divine figures on the exterior of the wall of the *garbhagriha*, which are mutilated. Interspersed between other figures in the upper row are obscene groups, usually with two figures in each group, as in the temple of Śiva at Sohagpur and some of the Khajuraha temples. The *antarāla* is very small and is fitted with a second door frame. The *garbhagriha* contains a huge *liṅga*, with a square *arghapaṭṭa*, which is placed on a second but plainer *arghapaṭṭa* also oblong in shape. The interior of the *garbhagriha* is plain and, like the temples at Amarkantak, its ceiling is supported by four pilasters, in the four corners. There is a plain bracket in the northern wall. The ceiling of the *garbhagṛiha* is trabeate, with four big *kīrtimukhas* in the triangular corner-slabs of the roof.

Tripurī. the ancient capital of the Haihayas, is now represented by the large village of Tewar, which stands on the road from Jubbulpore to the Marble Rocks. Two miles from this road are the ruins of Karanbel which have been identified with the ruins of the city of Karṇṇapurī, built by Karṇṇa. Karanbel consists of several very high mounds covered with bricks and potsherds. With the exception of scattered images and sculptures only two ancient monuments are visible at these two places. At Karanbel the *maṇḍapa* of a temple was discovered which, judging from its carving, must be assigned to the same date as the triple shrined temple of Karṇṇa at Amarkantak. At Tewar, there is only a stepped well, which also belongs to the same date. Cunningham, who visited Tewar in 1873-74, printed in his report an account of Karanbel written for him by his assistant, the late Mr. J. D. M. Beglar. "I found, however, at the foot of a low. long hill, known as Kari Sarai, the remains of two structures. One of these. situated about a mile and a half from Tewar, consists of a cell. composed of two rows of three pillars each, with long stones between them, piled on each other for walls, on three sides. The pillars are $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet square: but they are evidently taken from some more ancient building, as two of them, though doing duty as pillars, are the top or sides of a doorway. .... About 200 feet off it, but quite hidden away in the dense jungle, one comes quite suddenly on a remarkably picturesque ruin. This consists of the remains of two distinct buildings, both made of, or supplemented by, spoils from other buildings. They consist of two colonnades. The higher and larger one has four rows of pillars, three in each row, surmounted by capitals and

architraves, but without a roof. The other consists of four rows of two pillars each, but much lower in height; though the pillars appear similar, both in execution and in all particulars of size, except height. These are also surmounted by corbelled capitals and architraves. The pillars are not all alike: some are very fine and massive, and plainly, but exquisitely and boldly, sculptured; some are thin and coarsely executed; while others, again, are made up of nondescript fragments, piled upon each other. The architraves, surmounting and connecting the pillars, are massive and sculptured in the plain geometric patterns so common in the Chandel temples of Central India."[1]

These two ruins cannot be located now and most probably their remains have been taken away either by the Railway Companies or by the villagers. In April 1922 the remains of two other buildings were discovered, on the slope of one of the mound at Karanbel. The larger one of these is apparently the *maṇḍapa* of a temple, with an *arddha-maṇḍapa* or porch on the southern side (Pl. XIX, *a*). Two pillars in the *arddha-maṇḍapa* are built up in sections, *i.e.*, they are not monolithic. Originally there were apparently four pillars in the centre of the *maṇḍapa* surrounded by masonry walls on all sides, along which there were pilasters, which also were not monolithic, but were built of several slabs of stone. In plan, this *maṇḍapa* seems to have been similar to the *maṇḍapa* of the temple of Kāmakandalā at Bilhari, though in the latter case, the pilasters, which rest against the masonry walls, are monolithic. The temple appears to have faced the south. At present three of the four pillars are standing, the place of the fourth was taken up by a pilaster of masonry. There are four lintels on the porch, on the eastern side. The pillars and pilasters of the main hall of the *maṇḍapa* all support lintels. There are two lintels, one over the other, at the place where the porch on the south joins the main hall. The pilaster at the north-eastern corner rests on a chair or base, which has become exposed by the action of the water of a small *nalla*, which flows by its side. The height of this pillar is 11 feet 6 inches from the top of the chair.

To the north of this *maṇḍapa* there are the remains of a smaller colonnade consisting of two pilasters and a pillar; here the remains indicate that a masonry wall ran along the sides of the two pilasters. There was a second pillar at this place, which appears to have been displaced and carted away recently. This second group seems to have formed part of a smaller temple close to the larger ones. To the west of the *maṇḍapa* of the larger temple there are the ruins of a smaller temple, which was exactly similar in size to the smaller temple to the north. About fifty feet to the east of this group of ruins there are the remains of another small temple, consisting of two plain pillars with square bracket capitals, supporting two plain lintels (Pl. XIX, *b*). The other edge of the lintels is supported by a carved door-jamb. It is impossible to say at present whether these remains were noticed by Beglar or not, but it seems quite probable that he mistook them to be later buildings constructed from materials of older temples, because the pilasters are built up in sections

[1] Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. IX, p. 59.*

and are not monolithic. The pillar reproduced in Plate XX, *b* appears to resemble the pillar reproduced by Cunningham to some extent. It cannot be the same one as the dotted lines in Cunningham's plate indicate that the pillar seen by him was unfinished while the same cannot be said of the pillar reproduced here.[1]

The only other ancient monument in the vicinity of Karanbel or Tewar is a large stepped well on the border of the village of Tewar (Pl. XXI, *b*). This stepped well is really cruciform in shape with four narrow stairways in the centre of each of the four sides. In addition to these stairways there are two additional ones on the eastern side, on which side a platform appears to have been built at some later date. The old staircase on this side passes under this platform and in addition there are two series of steps, which are only partly complete on each side of this platform. Just behind this platform there is a modern shrine under a tree under which many of the sculptures and images discovered at Tewar have been grouped together, descriptions of which will be found in the next chapter.

Some of the ruined temples at Bargaon, which is close to the Rithi and Salaiya Station of the Bina-Katni Section of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, belong to this group. The temple of Sōmanātha at this place, described by Cunningham, is now a plain square cell without any ornamentation[2] (Pl. XVIII, *a*). Evidently this cell was the original *garbhagṛiha* of the temple, which once had *maṇḍapas* and *arddha-maṇḍapas* in front, but which has now been reduced to its present shapeless condition by repairs after a partial collapse. The temple at Bhirpur discovered by Mr. H. B. W. Garrick, a photograph of which was published by him, also belongs to this period.[3] The other building at Bhirpur, an illustration of which also appears in Cunningham's report, may be a palace or a monastery, the date of which is uncertain.[4]

The temple of Vishṇuvarāha at Bilhari does not belong to this epoch. It is a building in the hybrid quasi-Muhammadan style affected by the builders of the Gond period and specimens of which are to be seen almost all over this part of the country (Pl. XXI, *a*). The building is a tall one and may have been built on the ruins of a more ancient temple which stood at this place. The porch which stands in front of it had been built from the materials of more than one ancient temple, as all pillars are not of the same design. Neither this porch nor the temple can be assigned to the period of the rule of the Chēdī or Haihaya kings. There are some interesting sculptures at this place an account of which will be found in the next chapter.

The third group of Haihaya monuments consists of temples built during the reigns of the last two or three kings. *i.e.*, Narasiṁhadēva, his brother Jayasiṁhadēva and the latter's son Vijayasiṁha. With the exception of the Bheraghat inscription of Alhaṇādēvī, the widow of Gayākarṇṇa and the mother of

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[1] Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. IX, pl. XIV.*
[2] Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. XXI, pp. 163-66.*
[3] *Ibid, Vol. XIX, pp. 73-79, pl. XV.*
[4] *Ibid, pl. XVII.*

Narasiṁhadēva, there is no other epigraphic evidence of buildings of this period. The temple, which was built by Alhaṇādēvī and which is referred to in verse 27 of the Bheraghat inscription, appears to refer to the rebuilding of this temple, as remains at this place indicate that there was a temple on this spot built long before the twelfth century A. D.

Bheraghat is one of the passes through which the river Narmadā flows and is situated at a distance of thirteen miles from Jubbulpore. It is now better known as the Marble Rocks, over which the stream falls in a cascade and is one of the principal attractions of the district. From an inscription discovered at this place, which is now kept in the American Oriental Society's Museum in New York, it is evident that a temple was built on one of the hillocks by Queen Alhaṇādēvī, the consort of King Gayākarṇṇa, son of Yaśaḥkarṇṇa and grandson of Karṇṇadēva, in the Kaḷachūrī-chēdī-year 907=1155-56 A.D., during the reign of her eldest son Narasiṁhadēva. This temple, or rather the lower part of its *garbhagriha*, still exists and is now known by the name of the temple of Gaurī-Śaṅkara (Pl. XXIII, *a*). The temple stands on the top of a hillock, the upper part of which has been levelled. It is very peculiar in shape. The enclosure, which surrounds it, is circular, the outer diameter of which was 130′ 9″ according to the measurements of Sir Alexander Cunningham[1]. The inner diameter was 116′ 2.″ The temple itself stands inside this circular enclosure but not in the centre or on the centre line. It stands at a point which approaches too close to the circumference. Sir Alexander Cunningham was of opinion that this temple is of later date. "The present temple is a comparatively modern building, being made up partly of old carved stones, and partly of bricks. It does not occupy the centre of the circle, nor does its mid-line even correspond with the mid-line of the enclosure. The basement of the temple itself, however, appears to be old and undisturbed; but much of the superstructure and the whole of the portico are of later period. Looking at its position in the north-western quadrant of the circle, I am inclined to think that originally there must have been a similar shrine opposite to it in the south-western quarter, with the main temple, occupying the eastern half of the circle immediately opposite the western entrance[2]."

If Cunningham's supposition is true, then the temple, which is situated inside this enclosure, must have been those of triple-shrined temple like the one which Karṇṇa built at Amarkantak. There are, however, no indications, at present, of the existence of two other temples but it is certain that the lower part of the temple of Gaurī-Śaṅkara is old[3]. The stones with which the steps for going up the hill have been built are taken from the ruins of an earlier structure. Numerous pillars, stones with the *chaitya*-window-pattern, which must have been taken from the *śikhara*, are visible everywhere at this place. The existing temple faces the north and the plan of its *garbhagriha* is exactly the

[1] *Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. IX, pl. XII.*

[2] *Ibid. p. 61.*

[3] The upper part resembles the later Chandella temples at Khajuraha, *e.g.*, the temple of Bhrahmā (Pl. XXIII, *b*).

then Assistant Superintendent of the Central Circle of the Archæological Survey, discovered several inscribed images of the Kushān period at this place. They are now kept in second Inspection Bungalow at the Marble Rocks. These images were found by Mr. Panday at Garraghati and Dhuandhar near Bheraghat. The inscriptions on these images prove that they belong to the Kushān period but the carving of these images is so crude, that had it not been for their inscriptions, it would have been impossible to assign them to the Indo-Scythian period. There is at least one image in the circular temple of Chaunsat-Yoginis at Bheraghat which belongs to the same date as the Kushan images discovered by Mr. Panday. It is therefore extremely probable that there was a more ancient shrine on the top of the hill, on which the circular temple stands, erected in the Kushān period, in which these standing images of reddish brittle sandstone were originally enshrined. Further speculation about the nature and origin of the circular temple is sure to be futile so long as the top of the hill is not excavated.

Two other temples, belonging to this period or group, have been discovered at Deotalao, a village on the Calcutta-Bombay Road, generally known as the Great Deccan Road, about sixty miles north-east of Sutna station. The village contains three ancient structures. The biggest of them is the temple of Sōmanātha, which is the most ambitious structure at this place (Pl. XXIV, *b*). In plan, this temple consists of a *garbhagṛiha*, *antarāla* and a *maṇḍapa*. The *garbhagṛiha* is oblong in shape and the *śikhara* is a snub-nosed squat, ugly-looking thing, with a second chamber over the *garbhagṛiha*, which can be entered from a door which opens on the pyramidal roof on the *maṇḍapa*. The temple has been heavily whitewashed, but in spite of this fact it is quite certain that the present shape of the *śikhara* is its original shape. The *āmalaka* and the crest-jewel (*chūḍāmaṇi*) are still in position. The *maṇḍapa* is almost exactly similar to that of the temple of Vaidyanātha, now called Gaurī-Śaṅkara, at Bheraghat. It is a square structure the ceiling of which is supported by six dwarf pillars and four pilasters at the back. Four of the dwarf pillars stand in front and one on each side. Each of these rest on the benches which run along three sides of the *maṇḍapa;* the space on the outside below the benches is ornamented with oblong panels, alternately sunk. On the sides of the *garbhagṛiha* there is a niche, at the height of the roof of the *maṇḍapa* on each face, containing a diamond-shaped rosette. From the *śikhara* of this temple one may obtain a clear idea about the original shape of the *śikhara* of the temple at Bheraghat. There is a plain *liṅga* inside the *garbhagṛiha* and the roof of the *maṇḍapa* was originally pyramidal.

The second temple, at this place, is called the temple of Bhairava (Pl. XXIV, *a*), and is a plain square shrine without a *maṇḍapa* which is surrounded by open verandahs, supported on round columns with square bracket capitals. There are six plain round columns on each face. Some of the bracket capitals bear figures of dwarfs on the bottom of each arm. From this fact it is certain that this temple was rebuilt at some later date. The *śikhara* of this temple resembles the hut-shaped roof of some of the later temples of Bengal.

The third temple at this place is built opposite the temple of Somanātha. It consists of a plain square cell with a stone *śikhara* of the same shape as the temple of Bhairava. Besides these temples at Deotalao there are other temples lying scattered in the states of Rewa, Panna, Nagode, Maihar and the British District of Jubbulpore which have not been properly surveyed as yet.

CHAPTER III.

Images and Sculptures.

The country which possesses so many ancient monuments, ranging in date from the earliest centuries of the Christian Era to the Muhammadan conquest, is also very rich in images and sculptures, which lie scattered all over its surface, from the southern bank of the river Tons to the banks of the river Narmada. Among these, the very early sculptures cannot be discussed here. Such are the specimens at Karitalai and Tigowan. It is extremely difficult to arrive at any precise conclusion regarding the date of the images and sculptures discovered in the tract, which was known to the ancients as Ḍāhala, because, in the majority of cases, the images are without any inscriptions, and therefore there are no supplementary data, on the basis of which any satisfactory conclusion regarding their dates can be arrived at. The specimens described in this chapter can be roughly divided into three different groups. The first group contains the oldest images, the dates of which can be approximately deduced from a reference to them in inscriptions. The dates of these images fall in the reigns of Yuvarājadēva I and his immediate successors, *viz.*, Lakshmaṇarāja, Śaṁkaragaṇa and Yuvarāja II. The oldest of them no doubt is the great *tōraṇa*, which was brought from Gurgi about half a century ago and has been re-erected in front of the Maharaja's Palace at Rewa.

This *tōraṇa* originally belonged to a temple of Śiva, as on its lintel we find two basreliefs, representing the procession of gods going to the house of Himālaya on the occasion of the marriage of Śiva with Parvatī, the actual marriage of Śiva with the daughter of the lord of Mountains, Himālaya, and the final return of the bride and the bridegroom to Mount Kailāsa. The villagers of Gurgi point out a place on the great Gurgaj mound as the actual site from which this *tōraṇa* was removed to Rewa. As there are reasons to believe that the top of the Gurgaj mound was the original site on which Yuvarājadēva I built a very high temple of Śiva, it can be safely asserted that the great *tōraṇa*, which now stands in front of the palace at Rewa, originally stood in front or formed a part of this great temple, built by Yuvarāja I. As it stands at present, this gateway consists of two uprights or jamps and three horizontal beams or lintels. The uprights or jambs have now been strengthened by two modern jambs built by their side. When Mr. H. W. B. Garrick photographed this temple these jambs had not been erected[1]. As a matter of fact they still remain incomplete. Portions of all pieces of stone, used in the construction of this doorway, have been more or less damaged and in many places the original carvings are missing. This damage may either be old or may have taken place at the time of the removal of the Tōrana to Rewa. What is to be deplored is the ruthless chiselling of old carvings in certain places, in order to make room

[1] Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports* Vol. XIX, pl. XIX.

for some modern additions. It is evident that when the *tōraṇa* was being set up at Rewa, the officer of the Rewa State, who was in charge of it, tried to insert new pieces of carvings to replace partly damaged or entirely missing sculptures. On the whole the *tōraṇa* has been reconstructed on its original plan and the damage to it is not much. The uprights or jambs consist, at the bottom, of an octagonal base (Pl. XXV). Each face of this octagon bears in relief a small niche on a lotus bracket, flanked by slender graceful round pilasters, which support an architrave, consisting of two superimposed *chaitya*-window panels. The majority of these niches contain the figure of a male standing, which have been damaged in almost all cases. Above this octagonal base, there is a round moulding, over which is another octagonal cornice. Over this cornice, the shaft of the pillar is octagonal and bears on each face a tall narrow niche supported on a bracket shaped as a sprawling dwarf (*gaṇa*). On the sides of each of these niches are round pilasters. These pilasters bear an architrave, consisting of three miniature temples, placed side by side. The central one of these miniature temples has a roof fronted by a *chaitya*-window-panel, but the shrines on the sides have roofs shaped like pyramidal *śikharas*. In these roofs there is a larger panel in the centre, with small ones on each side. In the roofs alone, there are three large and six small niches, the larger ones with a divine figurine. The larger panels below these roofs contain the figures of scantily clad females, in varying attitudes. Over these larger niches the shaft of the pillar becomes narrow, but remains octagonal. In this narrow portion there are two different bands, bearing two groups of figures on brackets, on each face. Each of these brackets have a fringe of *kīrtimukhas*, from the mouths of which hang looped up garlands. The figures standing, on each of the brackets, on each of these faces, are three in number and in the majority of cases they are females. There are one or two males in certain cases and they appear to illustrate the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, though many, which are now visible, are not obscene. Above this narrow portion, the shaft of the pillar swells out again. In this thicker portion, eight dwarfs support as many brackets over head. Over these brackets, are a number of human figures, some placed between rampant lions, all of which are females. The execution of these female figures is very vigorous and reminds one of similar figures now in the Indian Museum, originally brought from some temple at Bhuvanēśvara in Orissa[1]. Over this portion, the shafts of the jambs become thicker still and here again we see eight sprawling dwarfs, supporting as many brackets, with their hands and legs, overhead. On each of these brackets we find either the figure of a beautifully proportioned female, in a particular posture, or that of a god or goddess. Thus, in front of the left jamb there are three figures on three brackets. On the extreme left is a female standing in an elegant posture. In the bracket, in front, there is an image of Kārttikēya with six heads and ten arms, standing under a tree with a fringe of mangoes. Some monkeys are playing on the top of the tree and Kārttikēya's *vāhana*,

[1] Anderson, *Catalogue and Hand-book of the Archæological Collection in the Indian Museum, Part II, pp. 216-21.*

the peacock, is standing on his left. The figure of a kneeling devotee is to be seen on the right. In one left hand the god holds a *kamaṇḍalu*, in another a shield, and a bird and a lotus stalk in two of the right hands. Some of the hands are broken. In the bracket on the right is the goddess Vārāhī, one of the Seven Divine Mothers, standing under a tree with a fringe of mangoes. The goddess can be recognised from her boar's head. Her vehicle, the Bull is seated to her left and a kneeling devotee appears on the right. Some of her hands are mutilated and the implements held in the remaining ones are a shield and a *kamaṇḍalu*. So, also, in the corresponding place on the right jamb, is found an image of Gaṇēśa on the left, with eight hands, dancing under a tree with a fringe of mangoes. He holds a pot of sweets (*mōdaka*), a battleaxe (*paraśu*) and a noose (*pāśa*) in his right hands; the objects held in the left hands are broken. On the facet in front stands a female, with four heads and ten hands, evidently *Brahmāṇī* as she holds a book in one hand. The figure of a male, seated in meditation, with his back turned towards the front, is to be seen on her left side. On the extreme right is the standing figure of another female who is apparently not of divine origin. At this height, the shaft of each of the pillars do not bear any figure on one facet, which was left empty for the reception of the tenons of the lowermost lintel. Above this portion, the shaft of the pillar is still thicker and here also there are eight brackets supported on the legs and arms of as many *gaṇas*. Evidently this portion also bore seven or eight figures standing on brackets.

Either the shaft was broken at this height at the time of its discovery or it was cut away to reduce the height of the gateway at the time of its re-erection. In any case it is evident, that the topmost lintel which is now placed over these brackets could not have stood there originally. What the original design of this *tōraṇa* was it is not possible to imagine at present. The topmost lintel consists of three separate stone beams, laid one over the other. The lowermost lintel bears on each face a row of *kīrtimukhas*, alternately large and small. Looped garlands, from which hang tassels, issue from the mouths of these *kīrtimukhas*. The second lintel is more elaborately carved and consists of a quartefoil arch the ends of which rest on the heads of two *makaras*. Two lions, each with a human rider on its back, issue from the mouth of these *makaras* and stand under the two central arches. The meeting points of each of these arches culminate in round pendants, shaped as lotus buds. The upper parts of each of these arches are joined by means of tenons to the upper or third lintel. On each side of these four arches there are a number of figures. Thus, on the exterior of the *tōraṇa*, as it stands now in front of the palace at Rewa, there is a male seated at each end, playing on a *vīṇā*. By the side of each of these figures, on the inside, is a female standing with a garland. Near the end of each of the side arches is a taller female figure, evidently some goddess, and at her feet, *i.e.*, between her figure and the head of the *makara*, on each side, is a kneeling devotee. On the inner face, *i.e.*, the side which now faces the palace, there is a seated figure on the left and then a female attendant, finally a goddess standing and a kneeling devotee, between the goddess

and the head of the *makara*, on the left. The figures on the right have been damaged and here there is only the standing figure of the goddess and the kneeling figure of the devotee, between her and the head of the *makara*. The curves of the arches bear large *kīrtimukhas* in the centre and a thick semi-circular band of carving on the sides.

The upper lintel consists of three pieces of stone, laid one over the other, of which the upper one is broader than the other two. The upper one bears a band of carving which is purely ornamental. This consists of a row of rosettes on the top and below it a row of small *kīrtimukhas*, with looped garlands hanging from their mouths. The second slab bears a row of flying figures on both sides. Thus, on the outside, is a male, evidently a soldier, at the left end. After him comes another female, then comes another male with a female by his side. After them comes another female with a *vīṇā*. She is followed by another with a wheel. These two are evidently figures of Sarasvatī and Vaishṇavī. After Vaishṇavī there is another male and female, who are followed by another male, holding a staff, with his wife. Then comes another male, who is followed by eight or nine other females. Similarly on the inner face we have a male playing on a drum in the centre. On each side there are a number of males and females, the latter predominating in number, while at the ends there are a number of modern figures. The third slab or the lower part of the upper lintel, bears on it a very interesting basrelief representing the marriage of Śiva. On the inner side we have a single scene, covering the entire length of the lintel, representing the procession of the gods and the other semidivine beings, leading Śiva to the house of Himālaya. Beginning from the left we have two dancing human figures, followed by a male with four hands, who holds a trident in his upper left and a snake in his upper right. Evidently he is one of the attendants of Śiva (*Śivagaṇa*). After him comes a god on an antelope. His *vāhana* indicates that he is Vāyu. Then comes Varuṇa on his *Makara*. He is followed by two other gods on quadrupeds resembling antelopes. The third figure from Varuṇa is evidently that of Yama on his buffalo, though the animal represented does not exactly resemble a buffalo. He is followed by another god on a goat who is evidently Agni, the god of fire. Then comes Indra on his elephant followed by a bearded male who is walking. In the centre of the lintel are the three principal deities of the Hindu pantheon, Brahmā on his goose on the left. Śiva on his bull in the centre and Vishṇu on Garuḍa on the right. Vishṇu is followed by eight bearded Ṛishis and two more dwarfs who are walking. Behind the last Ṛishi comes the sun god on his chariot holding two lotus flowers with stalk in his hands. He is followed by the other planets each on his particular vehicle. Thus Moon, Maṅgala and Budha ride on quadrupeds, Bṛihaspati rides on a goose, Śukra and Saturn also ride on quadrupeds while the bust of Rāhu has been placed on another chariot. Behind Rāhu is a male with clasped hands, evidently Kētu. The lower part of his body should be that of a snake but we cannot see from the ground level how the body has been treated (Pl. XXVI). On the other side, the basrelief on the uppermost lintel is divided into four different parts, representing four

different scenes of the same event (Pl. XXV). Beginning from the right there are modern figures of Gaṇēśa and two females, carved on the right jamb. In front of them, there are two bearded Ṛishis all proceeding towards the left. These Ṛishis hold in their left hands water-bottles or *kamaṇḍalus* which resemble similar water bottles to be found in the basrelief representing the same scene in the verandah of Cave No. I at Badami[1]. In front of these Ṛishis is Śiva riding on his bull and in front of Śiva there are five more bearded Ṛishis and a small boy, all proceeding towards the left. In the second part we see Vishṇu standing to the left and in his front another bearded Ṛishi. In front of the Ṛishi, Śiva's bull is kneeling on the ground and Śiva himself is seen behind the bull going towards the right. This scene represents Śiva's arrival at the house of Himālaya. The third part is in the centre of the lintel and is enclosed in a small panel flanked by round pilasters. This panel contains Śiva and Pārvatī standing side by side and Brahmā standing to their right. According to Indian tradition Brahmā must be carved in the representation of the marriage of Śiva as the officiating priest[2]. The fourth part covers the remainder of this face of the lintel and consists of the procession returning to the abode of Śiva. Here we find four musicians and a Śivagaṇa standing to the left of the central panel. To their left is a bearded Ṛishi, preceded by Śiva and Pārvatī on the bull and they are again preceded by six Ṛishis. These basreliefs leave no doubt about the fact that this *tōraṇa* must have belonged to a temple of Śiva.

In the first terrace on the Gurgaj Mound at Gurgi two large images are still lying which could not be removed on account of their great weight. The first of these is an image of Śiva and Durgā. This is 13′ in length and 5′ 4″ in breadth. It is unlike other images of Śiva and Pārvatī, usually to be found in Northern India, because in this image Śiva is not seated with Pārvatī on his lap, but both are standing side by side, with hands around each other's shoulders. In the Gurgi inscription this image is styled *Īśa* (Śiva) mixed with Umā (*Umayā cha miśram=īśam*)[3]. Both of them have two hands and Pārvatī holds a branch in her right hand. Śiva's left hand is broken. A bull stands to the left of Śiva and behind it is the mutilated figure of an attendant. Similarly there is a lion couchant to the right and a bearded male attendant behind it. There is a tree to the left of Śiva and a *Gandharva* pair on each side of the head of the couple. The image is so big and heavy that it is impossible to make it stand in an upright position without special appliances. The photograph shows it as it lies amidst the ruins of the temple, where it was originally dedicated, the very foundations of which have been dug up, for the sake of the stones with which they were built (Pl. XXVII, *b*). This image appears to be the same as that which was dedicated by the abbot Praśāntaśiva in some of the smaller temples around the great temple which is referred to in the Gurgi inscription as being dedicated in the 'houses of gods'

[1] See my "Basreliefs of Badami" (A. S. I. Memoir No. 25, p. 10).
[2] T. A. Gopinath Rao's *Hindu Iconography, Vol. II, Part I, p. 339.*
[3] See App. C, p. 123, l 15 below.

close to the palace (of Śiva) (*prāsāda-sannihita-dēva-grihesho*). The second image is that of Durgā as Umā, which is to be found in a part of the same terrace on the Gurgaj mound and is still in an upright position (Pl. XXVII, *a*). It is carved in the round and represents the goddess seated on a lotus in the *arddha-paryaṅka* posture. She has one head, and four hands of which three are broken. The remaining one, the upper left, holds a rosary. There is a large lotus-shaped halo behind her head, over which appears a lotus. There is a female attendant standing on each side on a lotus bracket. Over these there is a *Gandharva* couple on each side of the halo. By the side of each of these *Gandharva* couples there is the figure of another female attendant standing on a lotus bracket with a *vīṇā*. Under the lotus on which the goddess is seated there is a lion couchant, her *vāhana*, and under the right knee is a mutilated seated human figure. Under the left knee is the kneeling figure of another devotee, while behind him, on a circular seat, another mutilated male figure is to be found seated. This image appears to be another of the images dedicated by the abbot Praśāntaśiva around the great temple of Śiva and is called Umā in the Gurgi inscription. The date of these two images can therefore be safely fixed from the statements in the Gurgi inscription. As Prabōdhaśiva was alive in 972 A. D., his spiritual preceptor can be said to have been living in the second quarter of the tenth century, and both of these images can therefore be assigned to the same date. The *tōraṇa* now standing at Rewa must have been built some years earlier. Apparently it was built sometime in the first quarter of the tenth century.

One of the few sculptures of this period, which can be dated definitely is a plain square pillar, bearing two sunken panels, discovered at Chhoti Deori in the northern part of the Jubbulpore District (Pl. XXVIII, *a*). This pillar bears on it two sunken panels one over the other. The upper panel is square and contains the figures of a male and female, seated side by side, evidently Śiva and Durgā. The lower panel is oblong, with a round top and contains a standing figure with a bow. The carving of these figures does not compare favourably with that of the images discovered at Chandrehe and Gurgi. This pillar bears an inscription which contains the name of Śaṁkaragaṇa, the eldest son and successor of Lakshmaṇarāja[1].

The small state of Maihar has not been thoroughly explored as yet, so far as antiquities are concerned. Two places visited in September 1921 yielded very good results. The first of these is Marai, where a temple of Śiva built in the eleventh century A. D. was discovered. The second place was a lofty plateau on the Kaimur range, like that at Bhumra in the Nagod State, where the ruins of numerous temples exist. In the centre of this plateau is a tall peak on the top of which the ruins of an old temple are said to exist, but in September 1921 it was impossible to get through the impenetrable jungle which surrounded this peak on all sides and reach the top, where the temple was situated. Numerous images and sculptures were discovered on this plateau, one

[1] Cunningham *Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. XXI, p. 100.*

of which at least is earlier in date than the rest and appears to belong to the tenth century A. D. This is an image of the man-lion incarnation of Vishṇu, which is in a tolerably good state of preservation (Pl. XXVIII, *b*). In this image the man-lion is represented in a new fashion in comparison with the images, with which one is familiar in Northern India. The god is standing, with his left leg on the head of a demon who is lying prostrate on the ground. His right leg is pressed forward. He has four hands. The upper left hand is broken and the object held in the lower is indistinct. The upper right hand holds a wheel while the lower is engaged in tearing the entrails out of the demon-king Hiraṇyakaśipu, who is represented as falling down on the right. Hiraṇyakaśipu has two hands and holds a sword in his right hand and a shield in his left. The face of the god is that of a realistic lion and his head is covered with long shaggy manes, out of which two ears project over the forehead. This type of the image of Narasiṁha is unique, as no such specimen is known to exist. Usually, in images of the man-lion, the god is seated and the figure of Hiraṇyakaśipu is to be found lying prostrate on his knees.

Some of the images in the circular temple at Bheraghat either belong to this group of sculptures or is very closely allied to it. In this group, there are two different classes of female figures, invariably seated, with a short inscription on the pedestal, as a label, carved out of a dull yellowish-green sandstone. In the inscriptions on the pedestals of images of this class, the form of palatal *śa* used is the same as that to be found in the Gurgi inscription of Prabōdhaśiva. In this form of *śa*, the right limb of the letter consists of a vertical straight line and the left limb of an *S*-shaped loop, at the lower end of which is a triangle or wedge. This loop does not touch the straight line on the right in any case. On the basis of paleography, therefore, such images in the circular temple at Bheraghat, on which this particular form of the palatal sibilant has been used, can be assigned to the tenth century A.D. The circular temple at Bheraghat, however, contains another type of images, also of female deities, which are not inscribed and which have been carved out of a brittle red sandstone which appears to be earlier in date than the first grou[illegible] (Pl. XXIX, *b*). There are five images of the second type in the circular temp[illegible] at Bheraghat. In this class of images the figures are always standing an[illegible] have been ruthlessly mutilated at some later date. This class of images [illegible] not inscribed but appear to belong to the Kushan period on the analogy [illegible] the images discovered by the late Mr. Pandey at the same place[1]. These tw[illegible] classes, however, can be readily distinguished by means of the difference in the[illegible] style of execution.

As[illegible] have not been properly described before, a detailed accoun[illegible] [illegible] counting from the south of the entrance on the western sid[illegible] [illegible] are eighty one images or fragments of images in this circular templ[illegible] Between each pair of pilasters there is a low pedestal of reddish-white sand[illegible]

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[1] See p. 70 above.

stone in front of which is a niche containing a diamond-shaped rosette. Over each of these pedestals a statue has been placed :—

1. Female, with four hands, seated on the back of an animal, which looks like a camel. All of her hands are lost. On a recessed corner, on each side we find a male and a female seated. Behind them, on the left is a female, dancing with a skull-cup (*kapāla*) in her left hand and a trident (*triśūla*) in her right. The female on the right is also dancing. She holds an elephant-goad (*aṅkuśa*) in her left hand while the right is broken. A *Gandharva* pair appears on each side of the halo. The main figure wears a large number of ornaments. On the pedestal we find the label *Śrī-Thakiṇī*[1] (Pl. XXXII, *b*).

2. Female seated with four hands two of which are broken. Of the remaining hands the left one holds a sword and the right a shield. A bearded male is lying prostrate below her and an emaciated male is seated near his feet. The head of a horse appears from under the lotus throne on which the goddess is seated. A *Gandharva* pair and a female holding a garland appears on each side of the halo. On the pedestal is the inscription *Śrī Vīrēndrī*[2] (Pl. XXXII, *b*).

3. Female seated with four hands on a lotus throne. All hands are broken, but there is a Nāga-hood over her head and the crown on her head contains a *kīrtimukha* in the centre. A bearded male is lying on its breast, under the lotus throne, on which the goddess is seated. There is a male kneeling on each side of this bearded male and there is a female in addition to it on the left. On the top are the usual *Gandharva* pair and an additional female attendant on each side of the halo. The label on the pedestal marks it as *Śri-Phaṇendrī*[3] (Pl. XXXI).

4. Four armed female seated on lotus placed on the back of a bull couchant with an attendant standing on each side of it. A male is seated in front of a bull and two females are seated behind it. All four hands of the female are broken.

5. Female seated, with four hands, all of which are broken, on a lotus throne, on the back of a quadruped, which looks like an elephant : but which has got claws on its feet instead of paws. There are three skulls on the head dress of the main figure, whose face is mutilated. There are one standing and two seated attendants to the right of this figure, while the left side is damaged. The damaged inscription on the pedestal labels it as *Śrī-Kshatra-dharmiṇī*[4].

6. Female seated, with four hands, on a throne placed on a lotus, below which is a bull or horse down on its front legs. All hands are broken. There is a standing female attendant on each side with a seated male in front. Ano-

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[1] The inscriptions on these images were read by Cunningham—*A. S. R., Vol. IX, pp. 63—70, pl. XVI.* The late Dr. Theodor Bloch published revised readings of these labels in his conservation notes " On Bheraghat, Bahuriband, Rupnath, Bilhari and Tegowaé ", in the Jubbulpore District, printed on 2nd March 1907. No. 1 is Cunningham's No 21 and Bloch's No. 82. See also Annual Report of the Arch. Survey, Eastern Circle for 1907-08, pp. 16—18, for a description of these figures. The numbering of the figures is the same in this report.

[2] Cunningham's No. 80, Bloch's No. 81.

[3] Cunningham's No. 22 and Bloch's No. 80.

[4] Cunningham's No. 79 and Bloch's No. 78.

ther bearded male is seated in front of the bull or horse. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Śatanusaṁvarā*[1].

7. Female, with four hands, three of which are broken. She is also headless and is seated on a cushion under which lies a bearded male. A *preta*, represented as an emaciated human being, holding a dagger, stands on the left. Another *preta* is seated in front of this figure. To the left, a female is standing with a fly-whisk, while another male is seated at her feet. The goddess wears a garland of skulls. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Bhīshaṇī*[2].

8. Vaishṇavī. The head of the goddess with the upper part of the image is broken. She is seated on a lotus, below which is a bearded male without wings, kneeling, representing Garuḍa. A male is seated on each side with a *vīṇa*, while behind each is a female standing with a garland. This image is one of the best specimens of this group. The inscription on the pedestal labels her correctly as *Śrī-Vaishṇavī*[3] (Pl. XXII, *a*).

9. A mutilated female standing with four hands. Her head and all hands are broken. There is no inscription on the pedestal. The image itself appears to be too large for the old pedestal or throne on which it has been placed[4].

10. The lower part of a female figure seated on a cushion on the back of an elephant. There is a female kneeling on the left and a male kneeling on the right. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Ḍhaḍhḍharī*[5].

11. Lower part of a female figure seated on a lotus placed on the back of a bull couchant. There is a standing female attendant on each side. In addition to this, we find a male with four hands, in one of which he holds a sword and behind him, on a recessed corner, a female kneeling, facing the main figure with clasped hands. There are two labels on the pedestal, both of which read *Śrī-Ghaṁṭālī*. Evidently one was incised when the first one had become worn and illegible[6].

12. Female seated with four hands, which has lost its head and all hands. She is seated on a cushion on the back of a bird. The lower right hand part of the back-slab is broken. To the left of the bird we find a male kneeling with clasped hands, on a lotus. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śri-Thīkkiṇi*[7].

13. Female seated with two hands and holds a *ghaṭa* or *kalasa*, upside down, in her right hand; while the left and her head is broken. There is a female attendant standing with a garland on each side and below her, two males on the left and a male and a female on the right, kneel on recessed corners. The goddess is seated on a cushion on the back of a peacock. The inscription on the pedestal is partly legible and reads *Śrī-Jahā*[8].

[1] Cunningham's No. 42, Bloch read *Śrī-Sataṇr* (?) *savarā* (No. 77).
[2] Cunningham's No. 41, Bloch read *Śrī Bhīshaṇā* (No. 76).
[3] Cunningham's No. 33 and Bloch's No. 75.
[4] This image is earlier in date than the inscribed ones, Bloch's No. 74.
[5] Cunningham's No. 38, Bloch read *Śri-Thaṭhṭharī* (No. 73).
[6] Cunningham's No. 37, Bloch's No. 72.
[7] Cunningham's No. 36 and Bloch's No. 71. Bloch read *Śrī-Thākinī*.
[8] Cunningham's No. 26 and Bloch's No. 70.

14. Lower part of a female seated on a cushion supported by Garuḍa. There is a female attendant on each side and a male kneeling on a recessed corner on the right. A female and a child are seated on the left. The inscription on the pedestal is mutilated and may be read tentatively as *Śrī-Raṅgiṇī*.[1]

15. A large pedestal on which are the lower parts of a small image representing a male prostrate, as well as fragments from the upper part of an image of an emaciated goddess, perhaps Chāmuṇḍā (?). There is no inscription on its pedestal.

16. Female seated with four hands, all of which as well as the head are broken. She is seated on a lotus throne, on the back of a lion and has a female attendant, standing with a garland on each side. In front of the figure on the left, a second female figure is kneeling. Below the left knee of the goddess, a female is seated on a cushion. The goddess wears a garland of human skulls and the inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Darppahārī*.[2]

17. Lower part of a (?) female figure, seated cross-legged on a lotus throne. There is a female, with a garland on each side. Then, on the right side, under the lotus, there are two males kneeling, with top knots similar to those usually to be seen in images of Kṛishṇa. Behind them there is a male seated. To the left of the stalk, we find one male standing and another human figure seated at its feet; a third human figure is seated on a plain seat to the left and behind him, the lower part of another kneeling human figure is to be seen. On each side of this group there is a mutilated female figure seated on a recessed corner. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Vaṁdhaṇī*.[3]

18. Lower part of a female seated on a lotus-throne, with one leg hanging down. She has four hands, all of which appear to be emaciated and she is clad in a lion's skin over her elaborate *sārī*, the head of which appears on her left thigh. There is a headless male figure prostrate under the lotus, with its back upwards, resting on its left knee and left elbow. The figure has lost its head. The emaciated figure of a *preta* is standing with a dagger on the left, and another is seated with a sword in front of the first. The figures of two other *pretas*, one standing and the other kneeling, are to be seen to the right. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Ḍākinī*.[4]

19. Image of Gaṅgā, with four hands, three of which with the face are broken. The remaining hand, which is the lower left, is in the posture of blessing (*Varada-mudrā*). The goddess is seated on a lotus throne, on the back of a *makara*. She has a female attendant standing on each side, a kneeling male on the right and a similar female on the left, on recessed corners. The label on the pedestal is *Śrī-Jāhṇavī*.[5] (Pl. XXX, *a*).

20. Female, seated with four hands, all of which, with the head, are broken. One of her left hands is in the *Varada-mudrā*. In addition to the dands, she has two wings. The lotus, on which she is seated, is placed on the back of

[1] Cunningham's No. 34, Bloch. read *Luṅginī* : No. 69.
[2] Cunningham's No. 32 and Bloch's No. 67.
[3] Cunningham's No. 31 and Bloch's No. 66.
[4] Cunningham's No. 30 and Bloch's No. 65.
[5] Cunningham's No. 29 and Bloch's No. 64.

a horse, which is going to the left. There are two female attendants on each side, one standing and the other seated. In addition to these four figures, another female is seated on each side with a *vīṇā* below the knee of the goddess. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Gāṁdhārī*.[1]

21. Lower part of a female figure, seated on a peculiar animal, which has the body of a boar, the head and manes of a lion and the hands of a human being. There is a standing female and two seated male attendants on each side. The inscription on the pedestal labels it as *Śrī-Ṛitshamādā*.[2]

22. Lower part of a female seated, with one leg on the ground. The cushion on which she is seated is placed on the back of a fully caparisoned horse. There is a female attendant on each side and a male is seated below the left knee of the goddess. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Dēḍ-ḍarī*.[3]

23. Female with eight hands, all of which, along with the head are broken. She is seated on a cushion, which is placed on the back of a peculiar animal, perhaps a bird. It has the beak of a bird but the body of a tortoise. Below her right knee, a bearded male is lying, partly on one side, resting on its left knee and elbow, with his face upwards. There is a female attendant on each side and a male seated with clasped hands in adoration, on a recessed corner on the left. The main figure wears a garland of skulls. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Lampaṭā*.[4]

24. Lower part of a female figure, seated on a cushion which is placed on the back of a bull couchant. There is a female attendant standing on each side, seated in front of whom is a male. Below the right knee of the goddess. is another female kneeling, with hands clasped in adoration. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Nālinī*.[5]

25. Lower part of a female, seated on a lotus, below which is a bull rampant. There is a female attendant on each side, the left one being emaciated. In addition to this there is a four-armed female, under each knee of the goddess. A male is kneeling on a recessed corner to the left and a female at a similar place on the right. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Uttālā*.[6]

26. Lower part of a female figure, seated on a lotus, the stalk of which rises behind the back of a bull couchant. There is a female attendant on each side and three mutilated seated figures on the pedestal. The inscription on the pedestal labels it as *Śrī-Jha(?)ṅginī*.[7]

27. Lower part of a female figure, seated on a lotus, below which appears the bust of a seated elephant. There is a standing female attendant on each

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1 Cunningham's No. 28 and Bloch's No. 63.

2 Cunningham read *Srī—tsamādā* (No. 27) which was correct, but Bloch suggested *Jhāthamālā* which is untenable (No. 62).

3 Both Cunningham (No. 45) and Bloch (No. 61) read *Srī—Ḍuḍuri*; though Bloch stated that the reading was uncertain.

4 Cunningham's No. 25 and Bloch's No. 60.

5 Cunningham's No. 47 and Bloch's No. 59.

6 Cunningham's No. 24 and Bloch's No. 58.

7 Cunningham's No. 40; Bloch read *Aiṅginī* (No. 57).

side. To the left of the pedestal, a bearded male is seated on a lotus, while to the right a female is seated, with hands clasped in adoration on a similar bracket. The inscription on the pedestal is illegible.[1]

28. An empty pedestal on which the fragments of two female figures belonging to two different periods,[2] have been placed.

29. Female figure with four hands, seated on a lotus throne. All hands and the head are broken. Below the lotus is a ram, evidently her *vāhana*. An emaciated figure, a *preta*, is standing to the left, while a female appears on the right. To the right of the ram, two other *pretas* are seated on recessed corners. The recessed corners on the right are occupied by two-seated human figures. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Ga(?)hanī*.[3]

30. Female seated, with four hands, all of which, with the head, are broken. There is a female attendant standing on each side with a garland, in front of each of which a *preta* is seated. The *preta* on the left holds a dagger and that on the right a skull-cup. The *preta* on the left holds a conical object in addition which looks like a nineteenth century crinoline. An elephant is seated below the lotus on which the goddess is seated. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Indrajālī*.[4]

31. Female with four hands, all of which are broken, seated on a square throne, placed on rocks. Two hands held a *vīṇā*, traces of which are still to be seen on her right shoulder and the left knee. There is a female attendant standing on each side. The recessed corners on the right are occupied by two males and those on the left by a female. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Ṭhāṇī*.[5]

32. Female, with four hands, all of which are broken, seated on a lotus, below which appears an emaciated bull *statant*. There is a female attendant on each side, while two males are seated to the left of the pedestal. A mutilated human figure is seated to the right of the bull, while behind it appears the figure of a male. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Īśvarī*.[6]

33. An empty pedestal on which fragments of a dancing male figure have been placed.[7] A small, but worn-out, sculpture is embedded in modern masonry to the left of this pedestal, on which is the lower part of an image evidently of a male, who is seated cross-legged on a lotus. On the edge of the lotus is an inscription in one line below which is a pair of sandals. The record is mutilated and begins with the words *Brāhmaṇa-kulaprasū Dhāmōna-vasudhā-rāja-pūjita* ..... The characters belongs to the 11th century A.D. To the left of the sandals a female is kneeling down in adoration, with her forehead almost touching the ground. To the right of the sandals are three females, seated with offerings in their hands (Pl. XXXIII).

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1 This is most probably the *Indrāṇī* of Cunningham (No. 51) and Bloch (No. 56).

2 Probably Bloch's No. 55.

3 Cunningham's No. 43; Bloch read *Ehāṇī* (No. 54).

4 Cunningham's No. 18 and Bloch's No. 53.

5 Cunningham's No. 16. Bloch did not attempt to read this label (No. 52).

6 Cunningham's No. 16 and Bloch's No. 51.

7 This image is also earlier in date than the inscribed specimens, and most probably belongs to the Kushan period.

34. Lower part of seated female figure on a lotus, below which appears the prostrate body of a male. There is a female attendant with a garland on each side. A male is seated, to the left of the male lying under the lotus and two-seated human figures are to be noticed to the right. The pedestal is damaged and there is no inscription on it. To the right of this figure there is a mutilated standing female figure with a peacock near her left foot. This figure also belongs to an earlier period.

35. Mutilated female figure, seated, with four hands. The throne on which she is seated is placed on a bird. There is a female with a garland-bearer on each side and two headless seated human figures, on each side of the bird. The inscription on the pedestal is mutilated and reads *Śrī Hasinī* and may be restored as *Śrī Haṁsinī*.[1]

36. Lower part of a mutilated female figure, seated cross-legged, on a throne placed on a lotus. On each side of the stalk of the lotus is a female, with four hands, seated on a lotus. A smaller human figure holding a *vīṇa* is also seated on each side of the stalk, while a female attendant is kneeling on a recessed corner, on each side. Above her is to be seen the figure of an attendant, and a male on the left and a female on the right. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Padmahaṁsā*.[2]

37. Lower part of a female figure, seated on a lotus, below which appears a fully caparisoned horse, going towards the right. There is a female attendant standing on each side, and the remains of two kneeling human figures on the right and one on the left. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Tapanī*.[3]

38. Female figure, with at least six hands, all of which are broken. She is seated on a lotus to the right of the stalk of which is a lion statant. A female, holding a sword and a shield, is seated to the left of the lion, while to her left is a female standing with a *kamaṇḍalu* or [illegible]*aru*, slung from her right hand. The bust of a female attendant stand[illegible] a garland appears above her. Under the right knee of the goddess is [illegible] female, [illegible] with a bow and arrow. Behind her, on a recessed corner is [illegible] at[illegible] kneeling with clasped hands: while over her is the upper part [illegible] another [illegible] attendant standing with a garland. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Ṭakārī*.[4]

39. Lower part of female figure. A portion of one of the right hands holds a bunch of pearls. Under the lotus, on which the goddess is seated, is a bull couchant. There is a female attendant standing with a garland on each side, while on a recessed corner to the left, a bearded male is seated with hands clasped in adoration. The recessed corner on the right is occupied by a seated female. The main figure wears a garland of skulls. The inscription on the pedestal labels the figure as *Śrī-Māhēśvarī*.[5]

[1] Cunningham's No. 14 and Bloch's No. 47.
[2] Cunningham's No. 11, Bloch read *Padmahastā* (No. 46).
[3] Cunningham's No. 10, Bloch read *Jayanī* (No. 45).
[4] Cunningham's No. 9 and Bloch's No. 44.
[5] Cunningham's No. 8 and Bloch's No. 43.

40. Lower part of a female figure, seated on a cushion, with one leg hanging down. Below the lotus is a bird, going to the right. There is a female, standing with a garland on each side. In front of the figure on the left, a female is kneeling, holding up a round tray, containing round fruits or sweets with both of her hands. A similar figure on the right holds a fly whisk. In front of these two kneeling figures, there are two other figures. That on the left holds a *vīṇā* in his hands, while that on the right is mutilated. The inscription on the pedestal labels the figure as *Śrī-Brahmāṇī*,[1] and the bird, therefore, is a goose or *haṁsa*, the vehicle of Brahman.

41. A rare and interesting figure is the female counter-part (*śakti*) of Gaṇēśa. She is seated on a lotus leaf, with one leg hanging down, and has the head of an elephant, with characteristic broad ears. Unfortunately, all of her hands are broken. Below her right knee, Gaṇēśa is squatting, holding the knees up with his right hand. There is a female attendant, standing with a garland, on each side. Two human figures, of whom one is a female, are to be found to the left of the pedestal, while to the right a male is kneeling on a recessed corner. The inscription on the pedestal does not label her as *Gaṇēśāṇī* but calls her *Śrī-Aiṅgiṇī*.[2]

42. Female, seated cross-legged on a lotus. She had four hands, all of which and the head are broken. There is a female attendant, on each side of the lotus throne, and a human figure is seated with a *vīṇā*, on each side of the stalk; that on the left is a male and that on the right, a female. On a recessed corner [illegible] is kneeling on the left, while the corresponding recessed corner on the [illegible] occupied by a kneeling female. The inscription on the pedestal is [illegible].[3]

43. The [illegible] of a broken image, showing a bearded male lying on his breast. [illegible] up of *pretas* standing or squatting on each side. Thus, on the left, [illegible] are standing with daggers in their left hands and two more squatting [illegible] ground. To their right appears the head of a jackal. On the right again [illegible] *pretas* are standing and three seated. Over this fragment is another [illegible] showing an emaciated female with eight hands, two of which holds the [illegible] of an elephant over her head. This fragment may be the upper part of the image. The inscription on the left corner of the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Chaṇḍikā*.[4]

44. A very large pedestal with a small image, the head and hands of which are broken. She is seated on a lotus throne, under which is a lion couchant. There is a female attendant with a garland on each side. Two figures are seated on the left and one on the right. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Ajitā*.[5]

45. Lower part of a female figure seated on a lotus, below which appears a caparisoned horse, which has lost its head. As usual, there is a female

[1] Cunningham's No. 7 and Bloch's No. 42.
[2] Cunningham's No. 54 and Bloch's No. 41.
[3] This is most probably *Ānandā* (No. 5 of Cunningham), which Bloch proposed to read *Anyā* (No. 40).
[4] The correct reading is *Ananyā* (18-10-25). Cunningham's No. 4 and Bloch's No. 39.
[5] Cunningham's No. 3 and Bloch's No. 38.

attendant with a garland on each side. In addition to this, there are four kneeling figures on the pedestal, two on each side. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Chhottra-saṁvarā.*[1]

46. Image of Gaṇēśa, dancing. The main figure has become detached from the pedestal and has lost its head and hands. The inscription on the pedestal also gives the name as *Śrī-Gaṇēśaḥ.*[2]

47. A small niche which appears to be modern and contains a fragment of a stone door-jamb with the figure of a Śiva-gaṇa.[3]

48. Lower part of a female figure seated with one leg hanging down. Below the lotus is a headless lion. A female attendant is standing with a garland on each side and two seated on kneeling human figures are to be found on each side of the pedestal. The inscription labels her as *Śrī-Riḍhālīdēvī.*[4]

49. A standing figure, carved in the round. There is a kneeling bull on the pedestal, a standing and a seated female attendant, with a standing male on the right and one standing male, with two kneeling male figures on the left. There is no inscription on it. With the exception of two of the arms the main figure has been cut out of the slab.

50. Lower part of a female figure, with at least four hands. She is seated on a lotus, with one leg hanging down. Below the lotus is a bird. There is a female attendant, standing on each side, with a garland and a kneeling devotee on each side of the leg. The inscription on the pedestal reads *Śrī-Māsa*(?) *varddhanī.*

51. A standing figure of Gaṇēśa with four hands. No inscription.

52. Dancing female figure with a peacock to her left. No inscription.

53. Lower part of a female figure, seated cross-legged on a lotus throne. Below the lotus are two kneeling devotees, seated face to face. On each side of these devotees, there is a divine figure, that on the left being a male holding a *vīṇā* in its two hands, that on the right appears to be figure of Brahmāṇī or Sarasvatī as it also holds a *vīṇā* in two of her hands. She also holds a book in her upper left hand and a vase or *kamaṇḍalu* in her right hand. A kneeling devotee on a recessed corner is to be found on each side of the pedestal over which appears the bust of a female attendant holding a garland. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Aḥkhalā.*[5]

54. Female figure, seated on a lotus with four hands all of which are broken. The head, which has been fitted on this figure, does not belong to it. There is a parrot or a bird with a curved beak, to the left of the lotus. On each side, is a female attendant. The figure on the left holds a mirror and a dagger, while that on the right is plying a fly-whisk. There are two mutilated seated figures on the left and two headless seated females, one of which has four hands, two of which hold a sword and a skull-cup, on the right. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Piṁgalā.*[6]

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[1] Cunningham's No. 2 and Bloch's No. 37.
[2] Cunningham's No. 1 and Bloch's No. 36.
[3] The original main entrance into the circular temple comes after image No. 47.
[4] Cunningham's No. 82 and Bloch's No. 34.
[5] Cunningham's No. 77 and Bloch's No. 29.
[6] Cunningham's No. 76 and Bloch's No. 28.

55. Headless female figure, all hands broken, seated, with one leg hanging down, on a lotus, below which appears a horse or an ass, going to the left. There is a female attendant standing on each side, holding a lotus. In addition to these, there are at least three females on the right and one to the left, all seated or kneeling, with offerings in their hands. The goddess wears a garland of skulls. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Shaṇḍinī*.[1]

56. A beautiful figure of *Mahishamarddinī*, with sixteen hands. The goddess stands with her left foot bent forward, which rests on the body of the buffalo-demon. The lion, the vehicle of the goddess, is biting the back of the buffalo and a wheel and an arrow are embedded in its body. The severed head of the demon is lying in front of its body, while below the body is a kneeling male and in front of it a headless female. Behind the lion, a demon is assaulting the goddess with a short sword. Out of the nine hands on the left side, one holds a trident and another is drawing an arrow out of the quiver at the back. Out of the nine hands on the right, three only are preserved. One holds a conch, while the others hold two different shields. The inscription on the pedestal is curious, as it labels the goddess as *Śrī-Teraṁvā*[2] (Pl. XXX, *b*).

57. An empty pedestal with the upper part of an image of Śiva with ten or twelve hands dancing the Tāṇḍava. Two of the right hands hold the skull-mace (*khaṭvāṅga*) and a shield.

58. Female, seated, with one leg hanging down, on a lotus, which is supported by a kneeling male figure, evidently Garuḍa. The goddess had four hands, all of which are broken. In addition to the female attendant, standing, holding a garland, there is a fat male seated on each side. The inscription on the pedestal calls her *Śrī-Nīlaḍaṁvarā*.[3]

59. Lower part of a female, seated cross-legged on a lotus, and below the lotus, a prostrate bearded male. Two female figures are seated on each side and another is standing behind them. The inscription on the pedestal partly defaced, labels her as *Śrī-Pāṁḍavī*.[4]

60. Lower part of a female and below it a bull couchant. An emaciated female is seated to the right of the bull. No inscription.

61. Dancing female figure, with an elephant couchant to the left and a headless male attendant to right. No inscription.[5]

62. Lower part of a female figure seated with one leg on the ground. Below the lotus is a tortoise. On the left is a kneeling male and there is a standing female attendant on each side, holding a garland. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Yamunā*.[6]

63. Lower part of a female figure seated cross-legged on a lotus. Pedestal broken. A four headed deity is seated with a *vīṇā* in two hands, to the left

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1 Cunningham's No. 53 and Bloch's No. 27.

2 Cunningham's No. 55 and Bloch's No. 26.

3 Cunningham's No. 72 and Bloch's No. 24.

4 Cunningham's No. 57; Bloch read *Śrī-Pāṁḍavī* (No. 23) correctly.

5 This specimen also is earlier than the inscribed images, and belongs to the Kushan period.

6 Cunningham's No. 68 and Bloch's No. 20.

of the pedestal and to the right, is seated a female with one head and four hands. There is a kneeling devotee on a recessed corner on each side. No inscription.

64. Seated female figure with four hands, all broken, with the exception of the lower part of the lower left hand, which holds a sword. There is a garland-bearing female attendant on each side. Below on the pedestal, a nude male is to be seen squatting under the lotus, on which the goddess is seated. There are two kneeling devotees, one female and another male, kneeling to the left and the mutilated figure of another kneeling devotee is to be seen to the right. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Aṇḍārā*.[1]

65. Female, seated, with four hands, all of which, along with the face, are gone. The pedestal is also mutilated. We have here, as in the preceding case, a garland-bearing female on each side and then, two kneeling devotees to the left and one similar figure to the right. Below the throne of the goddess is a deer seated. The inscription has disappeared.

66. Mutilated female figure with a boar's head. She had four hands, all of which are gone. The mutilated figure of a quadruped, which cannot be recognised, is to be seen below the lotus, on which she is seated. There is a standing garland-bearer on each side, two kneeling devotees to the right and a single one to the left. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Jāṁvavī*.[2]

67. Mutilated seated female figure. She had four hands, out of which the lower left holds a rosary. There is a bird under the lotus, on which she is seated. The usual garland-bearing female attendant is to be seen on each side. There are two kneeling devotees to the right and one on the left. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Khēmakhī*.[3]

68. Female, seated cross-legged, on a lotus. She had four hands, all of which are mutilated, and the head has been joined on, later. Below the lotus, three devotees and the usual garland-bearing female are to be seen on each side. There are two inscriptions on the pedestal, one of which is old and worn out. The other labels her as *Śrī-Thirachittā*.[4] The lotus on which she is seated springs out of a vase in the centre of the pedestal.

69. Lower part of a female figure, seated on a lotus, with the right leg hanging down. She had at least six hands. Under the lotus is another full-blown lotus, the calyx of which contains the *Tāntric* emblem of crossed triangles (*Shaṭ-kōṇa*), with the mystic symbol *Hrīṁ* in its centre. There is a male attendant on the left, on a recessed corner, holding a cup and a skull-mace (*khaṭvāṅga*). In front of him is a seated female holding a sword in her left hand and a human head in her right. There is a female attendant on a recessed corner to the right, holding a sword and a shield and in front of her is another

[1] Cunningham read *Avragā* (No. 65), which is inadmissible. Bloch omitted this inscription.
[2] Cunningham's No. 64; Bloch read the name as *Śrī-Jambavatī* (No. 16).
[3] Cunningham (No. 63) and Bloch (No. 15) both read *Khēmukhī*.
[4] Cunningham's No. 67 and Bloch's No. 14.

seated human figure, very much mutilated. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī Sarvvatōmukhī*[1] (Pl. XXXII, *a*).

70. Lower part of a female figure seated on a lotus. Below the lotus two males are seated face to face, with hands clasped in adoration. There is the usual garland-bearing female attendant on each side and two kneeling devotees in front of the pedestal, on each side of it. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Maṁdōdarī*.[2]

71. Boar-headed female, seated with one leg down. She had at least four hands, all of which are broken. Below the lotus, on which she is seated, is a boar running to the right. Under her left knee is a female seated, with four hands, holding a noose in one of her left hands and a bow in one of her right hands. Under her right knee is another seated female, holding a sword in her left hand. On a recessed corner, on each side, is to be found the usual garland-bearing female attendant, with a kneeling devotee in front of her. The inscription on the pedestal labels her correctly as *Śrī-Vārāhī*.[3]

72. Female seated, with one leg hanging down, on a lotus throne. She had at least four hands, of which only one right hand remains uninjured and in which she holds a shield. A bearded male is lying prostrate on the ground under the lotus. To the left are to be seen two *pretas*, one standing and the other seated. The main figure wears a garland of skulls and her eyes appear to be darting out of their sockets. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Vībhatsā*.[4]

73. Female seated with one leg down on the ground. She had eighteen hands, most of which are mutilated. In one of the right hands she holds a shield. Under the cushion, on which she is seated, is lion statant. To the left of the lion, is a goddess, seated, wearing a head dress of skulls and holding a skull-cup in one of her right hands. To the right is another goddess, with four hands, in one of which, she holds a sword. Behind her on a recessed corner is another goddess, also wearing a head dress of skulls, holding a sword in one of her hands and a skull-cup in her right hands. Above her appears the bust of another female attendant. A recessed corner on the left is occupied by the mutilated figure of a standing female attendant with a kneeling devotee in front of her. The inscription on the pedestal labels this figure as *Śrī-Nandinī*.[5]

74. Seated figure of a boar-headed goddess. One of her legs is resting on the ground. Below the lotus, on which the goddess is seated, is a seated quadruped with long horns (? antelope). There is the usual garland-bearing female attendant on the right. The female attendant, standing on the left, holds a fly-whisk. There is a kneeling devotee on each side; of which that to the right is a female and the one to the left is mutilated. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Eraṇḍī*[6] (Pl. XXXII, *a*).

[1] Cunningham's No. 61 and Bloch's No. 13.
[2] Cunningham's No. 62 and Bloch's No. 12.
[3] Cunningham's No. 46, and Bloch's No. 11.
[4] Cunningham's No. 70. and Bloch's No. 10.
[5] Cunningham's No. 50 and Bloch's No. 9
[6] Cunningham's No. 52; Bloch suggested *Ekaḍī* (No. 8).

75. Mutilated figure of a goddess, probably with the head of a lion. There is a mutilated quadruped under the lotus on which she is seated. Two *preta* attendants, one seated and the other standing, are to be seen on the left and another to the right.

76. Female seated with one leg hanging down. She had four hands, all of which are broken. Her eyes appear to be darting out of their sockets and her hair is arranged as an aureole, consisting of small curls, behind her head. The left portion of her pedestal is damaged. To the right, a male is seated, holding a pen and an ink pot. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Aṁtakārī*.[1]

77. Female, seated, with four hands, all of which are broken. She wears a head-dress made of skulls. Below the lotus seat is an elephant *couchant*. A garland-bearing female attendant is standing on each side. In front of each is a kneeling and garland-bearing figure, a male on the left and female on the right. In front of these there are two seated figures on lotus brackets, the one on the left being a male, with his head bowed down over his hands, which rests on his left knee and which is slightly raised to support it. The figure on the right is a female. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Raṇājirā* (Pl. XXXII, *a*).[2]

78. Female, with four hands, all of which are broken. She is seated in a curious posture, as the soles of her feet meet in front of her. Below the lotus on which she is seated, two figures, evidently males, are seated face to face, with hands clasped in adoration. On each side of this group we find a female, with four hands, playing on a *vīṇā*. On a recessed corner, on each side a garland-bearing female is standing with a kneeling devotee in front of them. The cushion on which she is seated is carved to represent in front the female genital organ. The inscription of the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Kāmadā*.[3]

79. Female, seated, with four hands, in the left of which she holds a lotus and a mace. Under the lotus, on which she is seated, is a *makara*. There is the usual garland-bearing female on each side and there are two seated devotees to the left and one on the right. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Rūpiṇī*.[4]

80. Female seated, with four hands all of which, with the face, are broken. Below the lotus, on which she is seated, is a squatting male, with the head of a lion. To the left, a headless *preta* is standing with a dagger, while another headless *preta* is seated in front of the first *preta* with another dagger. To the right a *preta* is eating something, while in front of him is seated another with a skull cup in his hand. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Śrī-Siṁhā Siṁhā*.[5]

81. Empty pedestal with a crude male figure in red sandstone. This image is evidently of the same period as those inscribed images of the Kushan period

[1] Cunningham's No. 74 and Bloch's No. 6.

[2] Cunningham's No. 12, and Bloch's No. 5.

[3] Cunningham's No. 6 and Bloch's No. 4.

[4] Perhaps this is Cunningham's No. 35; Bloch read *Jhashiṇi* (No. 3).

[5] Cunnigham's No. 71 and Bloch's No. 2.

discovered by the late Mr. Haranandan Panday at Dhuan Dhar and Garraghati near Bheraghat.[1]

Inside the sanctum of the temple of Gaurī-Śaṅkara at Bheraghat, a large number of images have been collected. The object of worship in that temple is a fine image of Śiva and Durgā seated on the back of the bull Nandin, which is standing facing the right. Both of them have two hands, Śiva holds a trident (*triśūla*) in his right hand and Pārvatī a mirror (*darpaṇa*) in the same hand. Between the feet of the bull are two seated figures, on the sides of an indistinct object, which may be the remains of a human figure, seated cross-legged with his back towards the front. On the right of the bull there is a standing and a kneeling attendant and on the left, a fat dwarf is standing, in front of whom is Kārttikēya on his peacock. On the pedestal there is a sunken panel containing a basrelief. At each end of this basrelief a devotee is kneeling on a recessed corner. In the panel itself there is a devotee at each end kneeling with his hands clasped in adoration and between them are seven dwarfs, three of whom are playing on horns, one on a flute while two others are dancing. On the backslab there are two pillars, with Brahmā seated on the capital of that on the left and Vishṇu on the right. There is a big halo behind the head of the main group, on each side of which is a *Gandharva* pair carrying garlands. The execution of this image shows that the sculpture belongs to the first group rather than to the second, *i.e.*, it belongs to the same date as the images of the Yōginīs.[2]

The same remark may be applied to a fine image of Vishṇu and Lakshmī fixed in the wall. Garuḍa is kneeling on the pedestal and on his shoulders rests a throne, on which Vishṇu is seated, with one leg hanging down. Lakshmī is seated on the right lap of Vishṇu, with her right leg hanging down, which is being held up by Garuḍa. Vishṇu has four hands, out of which the left hands hold the mace and the conch. The objects held in the right hand are indistinct. There is a *Gandharva* pair on each side of the halo and below the left knee of Vishṇu, a bearded Ṛishi is seated. To the right of Garuḍa another figure is seated with clasped hands, apparently a devotee.

There is an image of Sūrya in the same place, which apparently belongs to the second group or period. The finest image in this temple after the main figure is an image of Gaṇeśa, dancing, with eight hands (Pl. XXXIV, *a*). The god is standing on a lotus springing from a mass of arabesque foliage. His right leg rests on a big lotus, while the left, being pressed forward, is placed on a smaller lotus springing from the same stalk. A quadruped intended to be the representation of a rat, is to be seen between the feet of the god. The god has eight hands in two of which he holds a snake over his head. The other right hands hold a battleaxe (*paraśu*), a lotus (*padma*) and a noose (*pāśa*).

[1] See *ante*, Chap. II, p. 70. The earlier date of this figure was acknowledged by Bloch in 1907. He says, "a figure of a standing male, head broken, made of redsprinkled sandstone which is found in the quarries near Fatehpur Sikri in the Agra District. This statue, though of little artistic value, is much older than the Chaunsath Yogini images" (No. 1).—Annual Report, Eastern Circle, 1907-08, p. 17.

[2] This image is now the principal object of worship in this temple.

Of the left hands one holds a pot of sweets, one is indistinct and the third is in the *abhayamudrā*. There is a standing attendant on each side. In front of the figure on the right, a male is kneeling, playing on a drum, while a female is kneeling in front of the attendant on the left. Three headless figures are to be seen on each side of the peculiar halo. The god is lifting up sweets from the pot, held in one of his left hands, with his trunk and he wears a sacred thread made of snakes.

In the second group of sculptures, *i.e.*, the sculptures which can be assigned to the reign of Karṇṇadēva and his immediate successors and predecessors, precision in date is impossible, on account of the want of dated or inscribed sculptures. Sculptures and basreliefs are more plentiful in number in this group than in the first one. The best specimens among them, however, come from Tewar, the ancient Tripuri which was the capital of Haihayas and from Sohagpur in the southern part of the Rewa State. The very best sculptures in the modern village of Tewar have been collected on a platform built at one end of the stepped well in this village, described above.[1] The platform is now known as the shrine of Kher Maī.

At this place there is a basrelief measuring 3′ 9½″ in length and 1′ 11½″ in breadth carved out of reddish sand-stone (Pl. XXXIV. *b*). In this basrelief a male is lying on a bed under some trees. A female at the head of the bed, *i.e.*, at the extreme right of the basrelief, is bending over the face of the male. The right hand of the male is placed near his right ear, as if he is trying to listen to something which is being whispered into his ears by the female. The left hand of the male is placed on his right leg which is crossed over his left one. This left leg is placed on a round thick cushion at the foot of the bed, on which another female is seated, facing the left with her hands clasped in adoration. To the left of this female figure, a second female is seated on another thick round cushion. She has two hands and is therefore an ordinary mortal. On the extreme left a female attendant is carrying some indistinct object in her hands. There is a short inscription on the pedestal consisting of two lines in Prakrit which cannot be read any longer. This sculpture appears to have been discovered after the visit of Sir Alexander Cunningham to Tewar, as a photograph taken by him shows the beautiful bust of the female, which is seen to the left of this slab, but not this basrelief.

To the same period may be assigned a beautiful image of Kārttikēya, discovered at the same place (Pl. XXXV, *b*). In spite of its mutilation the image is still the most striking specimen in the group of sculptures collected at the shrine of Kher Maī. The god is standing on the ground and the body of his vehicle, the peacock, is to be seen behind him. He has three heads and altogether twelve hands, all of which are broken. There is a female attendant standing with a garland on each side and in front of them are to be seen the mutilated figures of four other attendants. This image is 3′ 3″ in height.

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[1] See above p. 66.

A block of stone, carved to represent a *Sūryanārāyaṇa*, was discoverd on the bank of the tank at Masaun close to the Circular temple at that place and is apparently later in date than that temple (Pl. XXXVII, *a*). The block is oblong in shape. In the centre of each face is a niche at the bottom, with a smaller one on each side. All of these three niches contain a standing figure of Sūrya, which is to be distinguished by the lotuses with stalks held in the hands. On two recessed corners, on each side, on each face, another Sūrya and a male attendant are standing. Above this, there is a horizontal band consisting of small panels, containing flying figures. Over this band there is another similar band of flying figures. Above this all, there are three more bands containing seated figures, all more or less mutilated. On the top is a fully blossomed lotus.

The shrine of Kher Maī contains another panel, which so far as is known, is unique. This panel is square in shape measuring 2′ 4″ on each side. It is bounded on the top and the sides by a band containing an undulating creeper. On the topmost band six *liṅgas* have been placed, in the interspaces of the creeper. On the surface of this undulating band fishes, tortoises and crocodiles have been carved to indicate that it represents a river. At the left upper corner is the figure of a female perhaps indicating that this river is Narmadā. Below this band on the top, there is a row of *liṅgas*, fourteen in number. Below this, the panel is divided into five horizontal bands, which gradually decrease in height as they recede from the top. In the centre of these five bands there is a sunken panel containing a representation of Śiva, killing the demon *Andhaka*. Śiva is standing, with his left knee bent forward, the sole of which is resting on the head of a prostrate demon. He has four hands, of which the upper left holds a *ḍamaru* and the lower right a skull-cup (*kapāla*). Two remaining hands hold a trident, on the top of which the body of the demon *Andhaka* is transfixed. In the first horizontal band we find Śiva with Pārvatī seated on the back of the bull, in the centre. On each side there are six standing figures of Vishṇu, all with four hands, but the implements in the different hands cannot be recognised now. In the second band, beginning from the left, there are four standing figures, ending with a seated figure, which is seated cross-legged on a cushion. To the right of the central panel there is one seated and three standing figures. The standing figures are apparently those of Vishṇu. In the third row, on the left, are five standing female figures and, on the right, three seated figures of Gaṇeśa. In the fourth row there are two kneeling devotees on the extreme left. To their right is Agni on a ram and Indra on an elephant. On the right side of the central panel in this band we have three more seated figures of Gaṇeśa. In the fifth or lowest row we have fourteen seated figures on the left and ten snakes on the right. All of the figures in the last row are under the bottom line of the sunken panel in the centre (Pl. XXXV, *a*).

At another place in the same village, in an open air shrine, is to be found a Buddhist image wrongly called Vajrapāṇi, by older archæologists.[1] The figure cannot be that of the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi as he does not hold the thunder-

[1] Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. IX, p. 58.*

bolt (*Vajra*) in his hands. The image is that of an unknown Bodhisattva of the *Mahāyāna* school, seated in the *Vajraparyaṅka* posture, under a cinqfoil arch, with two hands in the attitude of turning the wheel of law (*Dharmma-chakra-mudrā*) (Pl. XXXVI). No *Dhyāni-buddha* is to be seen on his head-dress. Two Dhyānī Buddhas. Amōghasiddhi in the *abhayamudrā* on the right and Vairōchana in the *Dharmma-chakra-mudrā* on the left are seated, one at each end of the cinqfoil arch and a male attendant stands on each side of the main figure with a flywhisk in their hands. The Bōdhisattva is seated on a fully blown lotus flower, under which is the wheel of law on a low pedestal, with a deer couchant on each side. There is an inscription on the pedestal in three lines containing the Buddhist creed and a votive record beginning with the words *Śrī-Vajrapāṇi-Mahābauddaḥ sādhunāmā*. After four more letters we find the words *mahādānapati Jītadāma*. Jītadāma was the name of a merchant (*sādhu*) who was the donor of this image.

To this period belongs the fine image of the boar incarnation of Vishṇu now lying in the compound of the temple of Vishṇu-Varāha at Bilhari (Pl. XXXVII, *b*). This figure resembles the one discovered by Cunningham at Khoh in the Nagode State.[1] but it has lost its legs. Besides that, the body of this boar is entirely covered with figures of gods and is not plain like the figure at Khoh. On the body we find a row of Gaṇēśas in the second row from the top. The third row contains the figures of the twelve Ádityas. In the fourth we have perhaps the eleven Rudras, and so on. The body of this boar measures 3′ 8″ in height and 5′ 5″ in length.

To the same period belongs the peculiar sculpture discovered at Marai in the Maihar State. On the steps of the tank at Marai there is a beautiful image of Seshaśāyin (Pl. XLV, *b*). The god is lying on a bed with the hood of the snake, Ananta, spread as a canopy over his head. There is a female with an umbrella on the extreme left, *i.e.*, just by the side of the head. Near the feet there is a male and female figure standing with another female seated. The bust of a four-headed male appears on the extreme right. On the top is a row of seated male figures, fourteen in number, of which the group on the right appears to represent the nine planets. Under the bed is a horse and an elephant with the conch-shell in the centre. Two kneeling human figures appear on each side. The sculpture measures 2′ 1″ in length and 1′ 9″ in breadth.

A fine image of Śiva and Durgā was discovered at the same place (Pl. XLVII, *a*). In this image we find Durgā seated on the lap of Śiva in the well known conventional posture. The divine trinity is to be found on the back slab, Vishṇu being on the top or the centre. On the pedestal we find the bull and the lion, with two attendants on each side, among which we find Gaṇēśa on the right. Two kneeling devotees are to be found at the bottom of the pedestal. A fine image of Gaṇēśa was found on the steps of the tank, in front of the fort at Amarpatan, on the great Deccan Road in the Rewa State,

[1] *Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1920, pl. XXIX.*

which lies between Rewa and Maihar (Pl. XLVII, *b*). Gaṇēśa is dancing, with eight hands, two of which hold a snake over his head, the remaining hands are broken. Near the left leg of the god a male is seated on the ground playing on a drum. A *Gandharva* couple appears on each side of the head. The rat, the *vāhana* of the god, is to be found on the pedestal while on each side of it on a recessed corner is the kneeling figure of a devotee.

Among the sculptures found on the bank of the stepped tank at Marai are some peculiar pillars. On the steps of the central projection of the stepped tank at Marai is a square pillar with three superimposed niches on each face. Each of these niches has a round pilaster on each flank, while on the top is a miniature *śikhara*. Beginning from the bottom, on one face, there are :—(1) a female, seated with her left hand on her head and her right hand on her thigh; (2) a male flying with a tray over head, which is held in both of his hands; (3) a female seated, with four hands, holding a mirror in one of her left hands and a conch-shell in one of her right hands. The objects held in the remaining hands look like the branches of trees. On the second face, in the bottom niche a female is seated, with her left hand in the posture of giving protection and the right hand holding a child on her lap. In the second niche a male is seated with a round object in his left hand, while the right is broken. In the third niche a female is standing, with four hands, as in the third niche of the first face. On the third face, at the bottom, a male is seated, who is playing on a drum with two sticks. In the second niche a female is seated, with a child on her right lap. Her head and right leg are broken. On the third or top niche there is a female figure as in the top niches of the two faces, already described. On the fourth face an elephant is to be seen in the bottom niche; a figure of Gaṇēśa seated with two hands, the left in the posture of giving protection and the right holding a cup of sweets; and then a female figure as in the three faces described above. The pillar is 2′ 6½″ in height and 1′ 2″ in breadth.

Another peculiar pillar at this place is also square in section (Pl. XXXVIII, *a*). There are four basreliefs on each face. On the first face, is a female with four hands, seated in the centre with two kneeling devotees on each side. In the second band there are four images of Vishṇu. Beginning from the left is a figure of which the left hands are broken. The right hands hold the mace and the lotus. In the next figure the left hands hold the lotus and the wheel and the right hands, the conch and the mace. In the third figure, the conch and the lotus are held in the left hands. The upper left and the right hands are injured in the last figure of this row. The lower left is in the posture of giving protection and the lower right holds the mace. In the next row, there are four similar figures. The first one holds the mace and the lotus in the left hands and the conch and the wheel in the right hands. The second figure holds the wheel and the conch in the left hands and the lotus and the mace in the right hands. The third figure holds the wheel and the lotus in the left hands and the conch and the mace in the right hands. The fourth figure holds the wheel and the mace in the left hands, while the right hands are broken.

In the last row also there are four figures. The first figure holds a wheel and a rosary in the left hands and the mace and the conch in the right hands. The second figure holds a wheel and a battleaxe in the left hands and a mace and the conch in the right hands. The third figure holds a wheel and a lotus in the left hands and a mace and a conch in the right hands. The last figure holds a wheel and a mace in the left hands, the right hands being broken. On the second face the first band on the top contains four of the incarnations of Vishṇu, *viz.*, the Fish (*Matsya*), (2) Dwarf (*Vāmana*), (3) *Buddha* and (4) *Kalkin*. In the next band we have four more. From the right we have (1) the Tortoise (*Kūrma*), (2) the Boar (*Varāha*), (3) *Narasiṁha* and (4) a two-handed figure evidently one of the three Rāmas, *viz.*, Paraśurāma, Rāmachandra and Balarāma. In the third band is another two-handed figure representing one of the three Rāmas and then Vishṇu on Garuḍa. He has four hands, the two lower ones being broken. The upper left holds a mace and the upper right the wheel. After him comes another two-handed figure, whose left hand is near his breast while the right hand holds a mace. After it is another two-handed figure, holding a bow and an arrow, representing Rāmachandra. In the fourth or last row there are two figures with four hands and two figures with two hands. The first of these holds a wheel and a mace in the left hands and a lotus in the upper right hand. The second holds a lotus in the upper left, while the lower is in the posture of giving protection. The lower right hand holds a wheel, while the upper is broken. The third holds a conch in his right hand, while the left is in the posture of giving protection. The fourth holds a mace in his right hands, while the left is in the posture of giving protection. On the third face there are four seated figures in the first row, the first three of which have two hands, the second only having four hands. In the second row the first figure holds a wheel and a mace in the left hands and a lotus and a conch in the right hands. The second figure has two hands only and holds a lotus in the left and a conch in the right. Then comes another figure with two hands seated in an attitude, which a Buddhist would have called *Dharmma-chakra-mudrā*. After it comes another figure with two hands, of which the left is in the posture of giving protection, the right being broken. In the third row, the first figure holds a lotus in one of the left hands and a conch in one of the right hands. The second figure is that of Brahmā with four hands, holding a sacrificial ladle (*Śūrpa*) in the upper left while the right is in the posture of giving protection. The upper right hand holds a book and the lower a *kamaṇḍalu*. Then comes another figure seated in the *Dharmma-chakra-mudrā*. The third figure has two hands, holding a conch in the left and a mace in the right. In the fourth row is a figure with his left hand in the posture of giving protection and holding a noose (*pāśa*) in the right hand. The third figure is that of Vishṇu, with four hands, holding a conch in the upper left, the lower being broken. The right hands hold a lotus and a mace. In the next figure the conch and the wheel are in the left hands and the lotus and the mace in the right hands. The last figure has two hands, of which the left is placed against his breast while the right is broken. On the fourth face

there is a female figure, as in the topmost row of the first face. In the second row are to be found four figures of Vishṇu. The first figure holds a wheel and a mace in the left hands and a lotus and a conch in the right hands. The second figure holds a wheel and a mace in the left hands and a conch and a lotus in the right hands. The third is that of Vishṇu on Garuḍa, while the fourth figure holds a mace and a conch in the left hands, while the right hands hold a lotus and a wheel. In the third row the first figure has two hands, of which the left is in the posture of giving protection, while the right holds a *kamaṇḍalu*. Then comes another figure with two hands holding a lotus in the left and a *kamaṇḍalu* in the right. The third figure has three heads and eight hands. The left hands hold a wheel (*chakra*), a sword (*asi*), an arrow (*śara*) and a conch (*śaṅkha*). In the fourth band also there are four figures of Vishṇu. The first figure has lost its left hands. In the right hands it holds a wheel and a mace. The second figure holds a lotus and a mace in the left hands and a wheel and a conch in the right hands. In the third figure the lotus and the wheel are to be found in the left hands and the mace and the conch in the right hands. The fourth figure has a lotus and the conch in the left hands, the right hands being broken. The pillar is 3′ 2″ in height and 1′ 1″ in breadth[1].

The broken shaft of another pillar stands by the side of the one just described. Beginning from the bottom on the first face there is a *kīrttimukha* and then a bracket with two female figures. Over it is a raised band bearing three sunken panels separated by pilasters, over which there are two figures on each face. On this face there are two male figures. There are three squatting figures in the three panels on the raised band. On another face we have two males with vases and over it two more males, of which the one on the left holds a sword in his left hand. On the third face there are a male and a female standing side by side, of which the female holds a fly-whisk and the male, a mace or a staff. On the same face a male is standing with a thunderbolt and another male to his left, with a bull between them. On the fourth face two males are standing with vases to the right and a fat male and another male with a stick, on the left. The height of this fragment is 2′ 11″. Fragments of two similar pillars have been built in the verandah of the modern temple now standing on the bank of the tank (Pl. XXXVIII, *b*). These two pillars, have been placed on bases which really are images of Sūryanārāyaṇa. The fragment at the bottom is broader than that on the top. In the latter there are three niches on each face while there are two such in that on the top. In front, the lowest niche is occupied by a female seated on the ground with a vase on her head and a stick in her left hand. The next niche is occupied by a female, standing to the left, churning butter with a thick round stick in a round vessel. In the niche on its top a female is seated on the ground with a child on her right lap. On the face to the right the bottom niche is occupied by a female seated, with a vase on her head. The second niche is also occupied by a similar figure,

[1] This interestings culpture and the following one have been presented by the Maihar State to the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

while that on the top contains a bull. At the back, the lowest niche is occupied by the figure of a man going to the left, with a staff in his hands. The middle niche is occupied by the figure of a child, standing on the head of a snake, representing the taming of the snake Kālīya by Krishṇa. The top niche contains the figure of a bull. On the left face two men are fighting at the bottom. The man on the left is striking at the figure on the right with a plough denoting that he is Balarāma. The man on the right is clasping the man on the left round his neck. This scene most probably represents the fight of Balārama with the bravoes sent by Kaṁsa to murder Krishṇa and Balarāma. The central niche contains the figure of a man who holds a mace in his right hand, while the left is in the posture of giving protection. The niche at the top contains the figure of a man, who is seated with a branch in the crook of his hand. In the fragment, on the top of this pillar, in front, the lowest niche is occupied by a male holding a bundle of ropes or a piece of cloth in his hand, while the upper niche is occupied by two males wrestling. On the face, to the right, two cows are seated in the lower niche and a man is going to the left, with a ba[illegible] in one hand in the upper. At the back, the lower niche is occupied by the fig[illegible]e of a female dancing, while the upper contains that of a bearded male seated with [illegible] figure, perhaps a child on his right lap. On the fa[illegible] on the left, the lower niche is occupied by two bearded [illegible] figures [illegible] males, kneeling face to face on cushions, while the upper niche consist of [illegible] the figure of a child killing an ass or bull and represents Krishṇa the [illegible] killing one of the various demons sent by Kaṁsa to destroy him in Go[illegible]kula. The Sūryanārāyaṇa, at the bottom, resembles the specimen discovered at Gurgi. There are three bands of carving on each face. In the lowest band there is a projection in the centre of each face, in which is the figure of Sūrya seated, holding a lotus in each hand, and with the figure of Aruṇa between his feet. There is a similar figure of Sūrya on a recessed corner on each side. On a second recessed corner on each side a fat male is seated on a cushion. The second band consists of a number of sunken panels. The sunken panel on the front projection contains four seated figures. A recessed corner on each side bears a panel with the figure of an attendant rushing away from the central panel. A second recessed corner, on each side, bears the figure of a goddess. Thus in front on the second recessed corner on the right is to be found Sarasvatī with a *vīṇa*. The third or top band contains a seated male with four hands on the central projection. He holds a trident in the upper left, while the lower is in the posture of blessing. The upper right holds a rosary, while the lower holds a *kamaṇḍalu*. On two recessed corners on each side are two gods with heads of bulls, with two hands, seated with vases in their right hands, while the lower are in the posture of giving protection. On the top is the usual fully blossomed lotus flower.

In the small village of Silchat near Gurgi, a peculiar image of Kālī was discovered by Cunningham (Pl. XXXIX, *a*). The figure is seated on a low cushion, with one leg hanging down, while the figure of a lion couchant appears on a recessed corner to her left. The goddess has four hands and she holds a human head in the upper left, a dagger in the lower, a headless corpse in the

upper right and a skull-cup in the lower. She is grinning, which has exposed her long molar teeth and her hair is arranged in short curls. The lower part of her face is covered by a sort of mask, open in the centre. The halo behind her head consists of a cushion, with a border of lotus petals and on the cushion itself appear a grinning skull with two hands. The votive inscription on the pedestal records its dedication by a man named Paunivaijā.

The palace (*Garhi*) of the Thakur of Sohagpur, who is descended from the same family as the Mahārājās of Rewa, is a veritable museum. The images and sculptures found in the locality have all been gathered in it and in fact the palace is actually built of materials taken from many ancient ruins in the neighbourhood. The sculptures in the palace consists of two different classes, (1) Jaina and (2) Vaishṇava. These remains can again be divided into three different varieties, (1) images, (2) basreliefs and (3) sculptures in general. Among the numerous Vaishṇava images at this place, mention may be made of a fine image of Vishṇu seated on a lotus with a long stalk (Pl. XL. *b*). The god has four hands, out of which two are placed on the lap in the *Dhyāna-mudrā*. The remaining left hand holds a conch and the remaining right hand a wheel. There is a beautiful oval halo behind the head, around which are grouped the principal incarnations of Vishṇu. On the top of the halo is a male seated on a lotus bracket with four hands. On each side of this, there is a *Gandharva*, bearing a garland, attended by two consorts. On each of the upper end of the backslab are the Boar (*Varāha*) and the Man-lion (*Narasiṁha*) incarnations of Vishṇu. Below the figures of *Gandharva* and on the sides of the head of the main figure we find Rāmachandra and Vāmana on the left and Paraśurāma and Buddha on the right. There is a standing female attendant on each side of the lotus on which the god is seated and under it there is a group consisting of a female, the earth goddess (*prithvī*) seated on a tortoise with hands clasped in adoration representing the second (*Kurma*) incarnation. On each side of the figure a Nāga is standing with clasped hands. On the left side of the Nāga are two males seated on the back of a *makara*. On a recessed corner, on each side, are to be found the figures of two female attendants one kneeling and one standing.

Another magnificent Vaishṇava image is that of Nārayāṇa lying on Śēsha, which has been built into one of the walls (Pl. XLII, *a*). In this image Nārāyaṇa is lying on a bedstead, on which the coils of the body of the Nāga Ananta have been spread. The heads of the snake are to be seen behind the head of the god. He has four hands, of which one is broken and the other left holds a conch. One right hand holds a mace, while the other supports its head. Just under the lower right hand a bearded Ṛishi is seated, close to the sandal (*pādukā*) of the god. A female is seated under his left foot while a male and a female are seated under the seat on which Lakshmī is seated. Lakshmī's seat is placed at the feet of the bedstead and the figure is very much mutilated, the head, all hands and feet being broken. The figures of a male and three females appear behind on the backslab.

Another magnificent Vaishṇava image is a kneeling figure of Garuḍa, with small wings and a huge halo behind his head, over which is an umbrella (Pl.

XL. *a*). There is a *Gandharva* pair on each side of this umbrella and below it, a dwarf dancing on the head of a *makara*. On the pedestal there is a Nāga standing and a Nāga seated, both with clasped hands on each side of the main figure.

Jaina remains are more numerous in the palace, the most remarkable among them being the images of two *Śāsanadēvīs*. The first of these is evidently connected either with Pārśvanātha or Supārśvanātha, as over her head is the seated figure of Jina, with a serpent's hood over his head (Pl. XLI. *b*). The figure of the Dēvī has also a serpent-canopy. It has one head and twelve hands. She holds in the left hands · (1) wheel (*chakra*). (2) thunderbolt (*vajra*), (3) battleaxe (*paraśu*). (4) sword (*asi*). (5) arrow (*śara*) : the sixth hand is in the posture of blessing (*Vara-mudrā*). In the right hands she holds (1) bow (*dhanu*), (2) elephant goad (*aṅkuśa*). (3) noose (*pāśa*). (4) staff (*daṇḍa*). (6) lotus (*padma*), while the sixth is broken. There are a number of attendant figurines on each side of the figure and the pedestal, of which the one on the right is a Nāga. There are three kneeling figures on the left, all more or less covered with whitewash. The image of the other Sāsanadēvī is comparatively free from whitewash (Pl. XLI. *a*). Above her is a large figure of a seated Jina, with an attendant standing on each side, holding a fly-whisk. On each side of each attendant is the nude figure of a standing Jina. There are two lions under the pedestal of the throne on which the Jina is seated and his *lāñchhana* is placed on the cushion, on which he is seated. Unfortunately, the *lāñchhana* is mutilated. Below the *lāñchhana*, under the throne of the larger image, is another seated image of a Jina with a broken head. Below this group is the figure of the Śāsana-dēvī. She is seated on a cushion, under which is a lion couchant. On leg is drawn up on the cushion, while the other touches the ground. There is a canopy of mangoes over her head and she has two hands. She holds a bunch of mangoes in the left hand, while in the right she holds a child, who also holds a mango in his hands. There is a seated and a standing attendant on each side.

The main entrance of the *Gaḍhi* or Fort is fitted with a pair of door jambs taken from some Hindu temple, as at the bottom of the jambs we find Ganges on the left and Yamunā on the right, on their respective *vāhanas*, attended by a *Śivagaṇa*. The top of the jamb is divided into a number of super-imposed panels containing amorous figures. The lintel belonging to this door frame is missing. The shaft of another door jamb and the lower part of a third is placed on the top of these jambs (Pl. XLV, *a*).

This palace at Sohagpur contains large slabs of stone bearing three bas-reliefs, of which two at least are unique. The first of these represents the well known story of the youth of Kṛishṇa. This slab is divided into two parts, each part containing a row of seven panels arranged in a horizontal line, each of these panels containing a scene from the life of Kṛishṇa (Pl. XLII, *b*). Thus, in the top row, beginning from the left in the first panel a male and female are standing in an amorous posture. The top knot on the head of the male indicates that he is Kṛishṇa and the subject of the scene is, therefore, Kṛishṇa's

amours with one of the milk-maids of Gōkula. In the second panel Krishṇa, to be distinguished by the top knot on his head, is striking at a bull with a stick. This incident represents the slaying of the demon Arishṭa, who assumed the form of a bull in order to destroy Krishṇa. The third panel contains the figure of Krishṇa standing in the centre, with a tree on each side, on the top of each of which is a human head. Krishṇa has passed an arm around each of these trees. This scene represents the uprooting of the trees called *Yamal-ārjjuna* in Gōkula. Two sons of Kuvēra named Nala-Kuvēra and Maṇigrīva were once disporting with their women in a lake on the Himālaya mountains. At that time the divine Rishi Nārada was passing that way. Having seen the sage, the ladies clothed themselves but the two brothers, being drunk, remained naked. Being cursed by the sage, they were born as *Yamal-ārjjuna* trees in Gōkula. Once the infant Krishṇa was tied by his mother to a mortar. He dragged this mortar after him and, while passing between these two trees, caused them to be uprooted. On the trees being uprooted, the sons of Kuvēra were freed from the curse of Nārada and assumed their normal forms. The two heads on the top of the trees indicate that they have assumed their normal forms.[1] The fourth panel contains the representation of a river which stretches from the upper right corner of the panel to the lower left. It is a raised band with figures of fishes and tortoises on it: the latter indicating that it is the Yamunā and no other river. A man with a child stands to the left of the river facing the front while another man, also with a child, is to be seen to the right of the river, proceeding to the right. This scene represents Vasudēva taking the child Krishṇa from Mathurā to Gōkula, crossing the river Yamunā at night. The figure on the left represents Vasudēva approaching the river and that on the left, the same person as having crossed it. The next panel contains the figure of the she-demon Pūtanā. She is kneeling on the ground with a peculiar headdress over her head and a little child is standing on the ground, sucking her emaciated breasts. This she-demon was deputed by Kaṁsa to kill Krishṇa and started murdering young children in the villages of Vraja. One night, she travelled by the sky to Gōkula and by her magic powers, turned herself into a beautiful damsel. After entering the house of Nanda she sought the child Krishṇa and found him on a bed. She took up the child on her lap and gave him one of her poisoned breasts to suck. Krishṇa started sucking so fiercely that the she-demon could not bear it and started crying: "Leave me! Leave me!" The fierce sucking ultimately made an end of her and just before her death, she assumed her normal form and fell, destroying all trees within a radius of twelve miles (*Bhāgavata Purāṇa, tenth skandha, sixth chapter*). The sixth panel contains the figure of Krishṇa standing with his leg on the yoke of a cart. The only reference to this incident is to be found in the tenth *skandha* of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, chapter vii. When Krishṇa was a very small infant, he was placed in a swinging cradle, which was hung under a cart. While in the cradle, the child kicked at the cart, which caused it to be upset. The description of the *Bhāgavata*

[1] *Bhagavata-Purāṇa, tenth skandha, tenth chapter.*

Purāṇa shows clearly, that at that time, Krishṇa was not able to walk while the basrelief shows Krishṇa as a grown up infant, standing with one foot on the cart. There is, thus, a slight discrepancy between the description of the Purāṇas and this basrelief, which cannot be explained now. The last panel, in the first row, represents a female standing with a pot on her head and a child evidently Krishṇa standing to her left. This scene may be taken to represent Krishṇa levying contributions of milk and butter from the milkmaids of Gōkula. The first panel in the second or bottom row represents one of the incidents in the earlier life of Krishṇa. In this panel a male or female is seated in a half-reclining posture on a bed or couch. A female is standing behind the bed to the right, while the bust of another human figure is to be seen on the left. This scene may be taken to represent Kaṁsa's visit to his sister Devakī, in his prison at Mathurā.[1] The next panel shows a man kneeling on the ground holding a little child in its hands, which he is dashing to the ground. In front of him is a piece of stone with a figure of the child carved in the outline on it to show that the man had already dashed the child on the stone. In the right upper corner a female figure is flying through the air. The scene represented is the incident described in the third chapter of the tenth *skandha* of Bhāgavata Purāṇa. When Vasudēva had substituted Yaśodā's daughter for his son, Kaṁsa took the child and dashed it to pieces on a stone. Immediately after death the child flew to the air and predicted the death of Kaṁsa. In the next panel we find a continuation of the river Yamunā, from the fourth panel of the first row. Under the river appears the head of a male on the back of which a child is seated. At the left corner appears the bust of a female. This scene represents the taming of the *Nāga Kālīya*, whom Krishṇa vanquished by dancing on his thousand heads, but whom he ultimately spared at the intercession of his wives. The human figure, on the back of which Krishṇa is seated, has a snake's hood, and the female appearing in the upper left corner, is one of his wives interceding for the life of her husband.[2] In the next panel we find the representation of the upholding of the Gōvardhana hill. At one time the inhabitants of Gōkula had displeased Indra by not performing certain sacrifices. In order to punish them Indra directed his clouds to deluge Gōkula with rain. To shelter people of Gōkula, Krishṇa uprooted a hillock named Gōvardhana and held it up as an umbrella, under which the people of Gōkula took shelter, with their flocks. In the basrelief Krishṇa is standing on the left, holding up mount Gōvardhana on which are represented two quadrupeds on the right. A cow to his left represents the flocks of the people of Gōkula. The fifth panel in this row represents a woman churning butter with a round stick, the lower end of which is dipped in a round jar and a little child standing, holding on to the vase, stealing butter from it.[3] The next panel contains the figure of a female seated with a child in her right lap. Two other children are to be seen beneath her right knee. This scene cannot be correctly identified. The last panel on this side

[1] *Bhagavata-Purāṇa, tenth skandha, chapter iii.*
[2] *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, tenth skandha, chapter xvi.*
[3] *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, tenth skandha, chapter ix.*

represents Krishṇa, who is shown here as a corpulent male. seated on the ground playing on a flute. The slab measures 3′ 10″ in length and 8½″ in breadth. It will become apparent at once from the description given above that the incidents are not arranged in the proper order or sequence in which they are narrated in the standard works on the life of Krishṇa, like the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. A similar discrepancy has also been observed in the order of narration of the events of Krishṇa-charitra in the basreliefs in Caves Nos. II and IV at Badami.[1]

The remaining two basreliefs have not been correctly identified yet. They are very fine specimens of mediæval sculpture but unfortunately. in some cases, very much mutilated. The smaller relief is divided into two horizontal bands by means of a raised band. while each band consists of a row of panels, divided from each other by a plain raised band (Pl. XLIII). Beginning from the left, in the first panel on the top row, a *Nāga* is standing in the centre. He has two hands and evidently is a king among the *Nāgas*. Behind him stands a bearded figure. with a mace and in front of him, a man is riding on the shoulders of another man. Most probably there was another human figure on the extreme left. In the second panel, there is a small figurine on the left, to the right of which is the same man, described in the first panel, who is riding on the shoulders of another man. In the centre, a male, with a staff in his right hand, is standing under a tree. He is probably a *Nāga*. To his right are two more human figures, evidently males, who are going to the left. The third panel in this row is the biggest. A house, or the porch of one, stands on the extreme left: a male or female is standing under it and in front of her another male is taking up a diminutive figure in its arms while kneeling. To the right of the porch is a headless male going towards it. Behind this figure is to be seen a Nāga. already described in the first and second panels, who is standing as a spectator of the scene. A male is standing in front of the Nāga, to whose right are two more male figures, the second one holding a sword or stick in his hand. The male in front is holding two hands of a female, who is approaching from the right, A basket is slung from the left arm of this female. Behind this group appear the busts of two interested spectators. The fourth or last panel in this row is also large. Here, the Nāga, described in the previous panels, is standing with a long staff in the centre. To his right appear two more males, while to his, left, two men are fighting and in front of them. in the extreme left corner, is a female figurine.

In the lower row, the panel on the extreme left has been damaged. Here there are two rows of figures. In the upper row, a female is standing with clasped hands on the left. In front of her a male, with a top knot on his hair, is standing, facing the female, with some object in his hands. Behind him stands another female. Three mutilated human figures are to be seen seated on the ground. The second panel is more interesting. Evidently, it represents a cave, on the top of which we find an elephant, a snake, a monkey and a *Gandharva* flying through the air. Inside the cave is a big serpent with a

[1] See *M. A. S. I.*, No. 25 on the basrelief of Badami.

number of heads and behind it are five human figures, out of which the one on the extreme left is a female. The third panel represents a king riding on an elephant and offering some food in a round basket to a corpulent headless male, seated on the ground. The elephant is driven by a *mahaut*, while another attendant, seated on the hip of the elephant, holds up an umbrella, which indicates the royal rank of the person seated on the elephant. To the left of the corpulent male and near the head of the elephant is the mutilated figure of a bull. In the next panel there are three groups, two of which are in front. The group on the left represents a male, standing on the extreme left, accepting some offering held in a pot by a woman standing to his right. The group on the right represents a male, with a female to his left, the latter dragging the former by his loin cloth. The third group consists of three males standing at the back, of which the first and the third are Nāgas. In the fifth panel, a headless male is seated on a round seat and behind him is the figure of a female. In front of him appears the mutilated figures of three males. In the last panel an elephant is lifting up a male by its trunk, evidently electing him as a king, for a kingdom left kingless, in the manner favoured in Indian folklore. Behind the elephant stand three males. The figure on the left holds the tail of the elephant. The central figure is holding a flywhisk or a stick in his hand, while the figure on the extreme right holds a knife in its left hand, which is raised aloft : as if striking at the individual, who has been elected king. A male is falling down from the back of the elephant. The slab measures 3′ 1″ in length and 1′ 5″ in breadth. There is a good deal of similarity between the scenes represented on this basrelief and those on the third and in fact certain scenes are common to both basreliefs.

The third slab is divided into four vertical rows of sunken panels, which are again sub-divided by means of raised bands. In each row there are several panels containing basreliefs (Pl. XLIV). The scenes in the first two rows are identical with those on the second basrelief described above : thus the first scene or that on the extreme left of the top row is the same as the second scene of the first row in the second basrelief. In this basrelief a man is seated on the shoulders of another man, under a tree. Three men are standing to his right and another to his left. The only difference in this case is that the Nāga hood, over the head of the man standing to the immediate right of the central figure, is absent. To the left of this is a basrelief, which is exactly similar to the third scene in the top row of the second slab. The only difference is that the man in front of the house is dragging the male by his leg, and out of the four figures in the front row the second one is a Nāga, as indicated by the serpent's hood over his head. The panel to the right of this one in the third basrelief is exactly similar to the scene on the extreme right in the top row of the second basrelief. The basrelief on the third slab is in a comparatively better state of preservation and it shows that the figures on the extreme right are dancing. Similarly in the second row on the third basrelief the scene on the extreme left is exactly similar to the second scene in the second row of the second basrelief. As this scene is in a much better state of preservation, it should be noticed that

the snake has only one hood, that the figures on the extremes are females, with pots on their heads and between these five figures appear heads of ten quadrupeds (? cows). To the right of this scene is another, which is exactly similar to the third scene in the botton row of the second basrelief. Similarly, the third scene in the second row in this basrelief is exactly similar to the fourth scene in the bottom row of the second basrelief. The fourth and fifth scenes in the second row of the third basrelief are exactly similar to the fifth and sixth scenes in the second row of the second basrelief. In this case, the third figure, behind the elephant, is a Nāga. This man, who is falling, is going down into a well at the bottom of which another elephant is seated. To the left of the second elephant, a bearded Ṛishi is seated on the ground. To his left is a dancing figure and to his left, again, is a man riding on a bull and going towards the left. In the panels of the third row new scenes are to be found. In the scene on the extreme left a Nāga, with a staff in his left hand, is standing on the extreme left. Behind him appears the head of another man. In the centre is a man, who is striking at a horse, which looks very much like a wooden horse, and near its legs lies the body of another wooden horse. Behind the wooden horse are to be seen two human figures, a male and a female. The female has put one finger on her mouth, in indication of surprise. The rest of this row is divided into two parts. The first part contains eight standing figures, who are apparently females. Over their heads appear five miniature temples or houses arranged in a row, in each of which there is the bust of a female, with the exception of the second, which contains two figures. These miniature temples or houses probably represent a town or city. To their left is a deity riding on a bird. In the third scene a male, on the extreme left, is belabouring another, who is falling at his feet. Behind him appears the bust of a female. In the centre two men are fighting with each other. To their right a man is going to the right, dragging another dwarfish figure by his leg. To his right is a Nāga dancing and at the extreme right end another male is dancing. In the bottom row, a Nāga is seated with a child on his lap, under a tree in the panel on the extreme left. To his left appears another Nāga and a male. Similar figures are to be found on the left, which are slightly damaged. The rest of this panel is divided into two horizontal rows. The top row contains three different sunken panels. In the first panel a man is seated on a raised seat. To his left is another human figure beating him, while to the left appears the figure of another human being. Below the platform, on which the raised seat has been placed, a human being is lying at full length. In the second scene, a human figure is kneeling on the ground, on the extreme left, who is being blessed by a male on the right. The standing figure of another man is to be seen behind the kneeling figure. To the right of this group is another group, in which, also a human figure kneeling on the ground, facing the right, is receiving benediction from another human figure on the right. A female figure is to be seen standing behind the second kneeling figure. To the right of these figures is another figure going to the right. In the scene on the extreme left, the top and the bottom are combined together. In the centre of this scene, a man

is seated on a throne. To his left appear two seated and three standing figures, of which the standing figure on the extreme left is a Nāga. Two seated and three standing figures also appear on the right. Below this scene, three females are seated on the left, the front one supporting the left leg of the man seated on the throne with her hands. Two diminutive figures appear under the throne while two figures are kneeling facing the right, on the extreme right. In the lower part of this row, a man on the extreme left is carrying a man lying on the ground in front of him. Behind the prostrate figure appears the bust of a female, to the right of whom is a Nāga dragging the fallen figure by the leg. To the right of this is band representing a river, indicated by fishes and crocodiles in it. In the river is a boat, in which a man is seated, supporting his face in both of his hands. One boatman is standing with a pole in the boat while another, standing on the right bank of the river, is pushing the boat with another pole. On the left bank of the river are four figures, two seated in front and two standing behind them, all holding their faces in their hands.

To the same period belongs a fine image of Jina in the compound of Cursetjee's bungalow at Jubbulpore (Pl. XLVIII, *b*). The exact findspot of this image is unknown. The Jina is seated on an embroidered cushion, against which in relief is to be seen a lotus bud, the peculiar shape of which indicates that it is a blue lotus (*nīlōtpala*), which is the *lāñchhana* of the twenty-first heirarch, the Tīrthaṁkara Niminātha. Under the image, on the pedestal is a sunken panel containing figures of the nine planets. A male attendant stands on each side of the Jina, with a flywhisk in his hands and a female stands before each of these attendants, with hands clasped in adoration. There is an umbrella of three tiers, over the head of the Jina, on each side of which is an elephant. *A Gandharva* couple, carrying garlands, is to be seen on each side of the head of the main figure.

Other images discovered on the plateau at Manora near Bhadanpur station, in the small state of Maihar also belong to the same period. One of these is an image of Revanta, the son of the Sun god (XLVI, *a*). The god is riding on a horse, preceded and followed by attendants. There are three attendants in front, in two rows. The men in the first or upper row carry a stick and a jar respectively. The figure in the lower row appears to be addressing the main figure. Three other attendants are walking behind the main figure. One of them is carrying a ram or deer on his shoulders. The second one is carrying a jar and the third a tray. Two hunting dogs are to be seen between the legs of the horse. There is a narrow sunken panel on the pedestal, containing five kneeling figures, out of which the one on the extreme left is indistinct. The next one is playing on a drum. The third figure is carrying a tray in his hands and the remaining two are playing on horns.

The small hamlet of Jura, which lies close to Marai in the Maihar state once contained a large and beautiful carved Jain image. Only a portion of the backslab of this image has been discovered (Pl. XLVI, *b*). On this a seated Jina is to be seen at the bottom, with a standing nude Jina on each side. Over this is an elephant, with a lion rampant on its back. There is a flying

human figure on the head of the elephant and another such is riding on the lion.

Close to the temple of Sōmanātha at Bargaon, in the Jubbulpore District a stone lintel of a Śaiva temple was discovered, which also belongs to the second group of sculptures of the period of rule of the Chēdī Kings (Pl. XXXIX, *b*). There are three brackets on this lintel, one in the centre and one at each end. There is a mutilated figure of Śiva dancing the *Tāṇḍava* on the central bracket. Śiva has ten hands and one head. His vehicle, the bull, is standing on his left. A male is standing on each of the side brackets, the left one holding a staff probably a skull-mace (*khaṭvāṅga*) in his right hand. Behind these brackets, the main body of the lintel, bears the figures of the nine planets, four between the left and the central brackets and five between the latter and the right brackets. In this case Kētu has been placed over the head of Rāhu.

In the third group of images and sculptures, there is only one specimen the date of which can be definitely fixed. This is the colossal Jain image 12′ 2″ high and 3′ 10″ broad, discovered by Cunningham at Bahuriband in the northern part of the Jubbulpore District (Pl. LII, *b*). This image bears an inscription which contains the name of the king Gayākarṇṇa as the reigning sovereign, and a date in the Vikrama era which is illegible. The second line of this inscription contains the name of a feudatory chief, the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Golhaṇa, who was born in the Rāshṭrakūṭa race. It is certain that the date of this image lies in the eleventh century of the Vikrama era.

Among other specimens the image of Narmadā in the temple of Amarkantak has already been described in the previous chapter.[1] Four other specimens come from Amarkantak. Among these two are statues and not images. One of these statues is dated and bears an inscription in four lines. According to this inscription, the statue itself was dedicated in the Kaḷachūrī-Chēdi year 922=1171 A.D. The inscription further states that the image is one of a man named Nārāyaṇa, who was an archer equal to Arjuna and who was the son of a man named Mādhava, a Superintendent of scribes and an inhabitant of Ratnapura. The statue is that of a man, who is seated cross-legged with his hands clasped in adoration under an umbrella. He holds, in addition a lotus in his hands (Pl. XLIX, *a*). There is a female attendant, standing with a flywhisk, on each side and on each side of the head is a garland bearing *Gandharva*. The figure wears the anklets, armlets, bracelets and garlands usually to be found in mediæval images, but in addition to these, there is a peculiar head dress on the head of this figure, which consists of three different bunches of pearls, each consisting of three or more strings hanging over the forehead from the head dress. The second statue is exactly similar to the first, but in this case there is no date in the inscription, which simply records the name of the person it represents. He is a Banijāra, who was a *Raüta*, which is expressed by the symbol *Rā*, with a circle after it, named Sāgara (Pl. XLIX, *a*). These two images can be seen near the modern temple of *Narmadā-Mātā*.

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[1] *See* pp. 59—60 above.

There are two other peculiar figures at this place both carved in the round which unfortunately, however, are not inscribed. The best of these is a headless rider on an elephant, the latter being quite uninjured. The man is seated on the neck of the elephant which is richly caparisoned (Pl. LI, *a*). There was apparently another figure on the ornamented back cloth of the elephant, which, however, is broken. The hands of the rider are clasped in adoration. The image measures 2′ 9″ in length, 1′ 4″ in breadth and 3′ 6″ in height. By the side of this rider, on the elephant, is another mutilated figure riding on the back of a horse (Pl. LI, *b*). The execution of the figure of the horse is very bold and this specimen compares very favourably with the colossal figures of horses belonging to the temple of the Sun at Konarak, in Orissa. The man is seated on the back with his legs in stirrups, proving that stirrups were used in India long before the arrival of the Mughals. The head of the horse is damaged and that of the rider is completely broken. The legs of the horse have also been broken. The figure measures 2′ 8″ in length, 1′ in breadth and 2′ 4″ in height.

Some images discovered in the village of Dudhia, on the great Deccan Road, close to Deotalao, also belong to this period. One of these is an image of Śiva and Pārvatī in which Śiva is seated on a raised throne, with Pārvatī on his lap (Pl. L. *b*). Śiva has four hands, in two of which he holds a trident and snake. Pārvatī has two hands in the right of which she holds a mirror (*darpaṇa*). Śiva's vehicle, the bull, is sitting under his left feet and Pārvatī's vehicle, the lion, is standing under her right foot. Gaṇeśa is seated to the left on the corner and Kārttikēya on the right. Behind them stands an attendant. On the top of the backslab are to be found the figure of Brahmā on the left and that of Vishṇu on the right. An image of Vishṇu was also found at the same place. Vishṇu is riding on the shoulders of Garuḍa, who is kneeling (Pl. L. *a*). He holds a mace in the upper left, while the lower is in the posture of blessing, a wheel in the upper right and a conch in the lower.

An image of Vishṇu, discovered at Amarkantak, in the temple of Keśava-nārāyaṇa, also belongs to this third group (Pl. XLIX, *b*). The god is standing and has four hands. In the upper left he holds a large lotus bud and in the lower a conch shell. The upper right hand holds a mace while the lower holds the wheel. The god stands on a lotus, below which is the figure of Garuḍa flying. A bearded male, apparently the donor, kneels to the left of Garuḍa, while on the other side of Garuḍa is the figure of his wife. On two recessed corners to the left, behind the figure of the donor, are the images of the dwarfs and the Buddha incarnations. The recessed corners on the right bear figure of Paraśurāma and Kalkin. Behind the figure of Buddha is that of Rāmachandra, holding a bow and an arrow in his hands, while behind Kalkin stands Valarāma, with a plough in his left hand and a drinking cup in his right hand. A female attendant stands on each side of the main figure, holding flywhisks. The backslab represents an architrave, supported by two round pilasters, on the capitals of which are to be found the figure of the Boar incarnation on the left and that of the Man-lion to the right. The Fish and the Tortoise are to be

found on the top. There is a pierced halo behind the figure, over which is a seated figure in meditation, with a *Gandharva* pair on each side. This figure has four hands, two of which are placed in the *dhyāna-mudrā*. The remaining left hands hold the wheel and the remaining right the mace. The height of the image is 4′ 6″ and its breadth on the base 2′ 1″.

Close to the Lal-Pahaḍ rock inscription of the time of Narasiṁhadēva, a pillar or altar has been scratched on the rock (Pl. LIII, *b*). It resembles to some extent the altar to be seen on the reverses of Sassannian or Indo-Sassanian coins.[1] The name of the Rāüta Śrī-Vallabhadēva, who is the author of the water-channel (*vāha*) excavated in the Kaḷachūrī-Chēdī year 909 = 1155 A.D., during the reign of Narasiṁhadēva recorded in the inscription on the same hill.[2], is incised once more, close to this altar or pillar.

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[1] V. A. Smith, *Catalague of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I, pp. 220-241, pls. XXIV 1—9, XXV, 1—8.*

[2] *Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVIII, pp. 212—13.*

CHAPTER IV.

The Śaiva Influence.

The Bilhari inscription and the newly discovered Gurgi inscription throw a good deal of light upon the history of the Śaiva monks who were introduced into this country during the period of rule of the Haihaya dynasty of Tripurī These monks mostly belonged to a particular clan called "The drunken or mad peacock" (*Matta-mayūra*). They are known from three inscriptions in the country of Ḍāhala and two outside it. In the country of Ḍāhala, their oldest dated record is an inscription at Chandrehe dated in the year 724, evidently of the Kaḷachūrī-Chēdī era=1072-73 A.D. The next inscription is undated and was discovered at Gurgi, twelve miles to the south of Rewa State. This inscription also belongs to the same century. The third inscription was discovered at Bilhari [1] in the Jubbulpore District and is slightly earlier in date than the first two. This is also undated. The inscriptions outside the Chedi country were discovered at Ranod [2] also called Narod, in the Gwalior State, which lies between Jhansi and Guna, forty-five miles due south of Narwar and at Kharepatan in the Ratnagiri District [3] of Bombay. The ancient name of Ranod was Rāṇipadra. The inscription discovered at this place is not dated; but the late Dr. Kielhorn, who edited it, assigned it to the tenth or eleventh century A.D. It records the restoration of the *Maṭha* and the temples at Rāṇipadra by a Śaiva ascetic named Vyōmaśiva. The other inscription is incised on copper plates, discovered more than seventy years ago at Kharepatan and records a grant of land to the Brahmachārins and Āchāryas of the Karkaroṇī branch of the Matta-mayūra clan, by the chief Raṭṭarāja of the Śilāhāra or the Śīlāra family, in the Śaka year 930=1008 A.D.

In other inscriptions we find genealogies of kings or of chiefs, but in these four inscriptions, the number of persons interested being Śaiva ascetics, who being celibates for life, the genealogy given was spiritual; *i.e.*, instead of being from father to son, it indicated connection between the spiritual guide, his disciple, his disciple's disciple and so on. In the Ranod inscription we find the following spiritual genealogy of these ascetics. The first person named is called "*Kadambaguh-ādhivāsin*," the inhabitant of "Kadambaguhā." From him sprang the sage *Śaṅkhamaṭhik-ādhipati*, "the Superintendent of Śaṅkhamaṭhika." Next came *Terambi-pāla*, "the protector of 'Terambi';" then *Āmardaka-tīrtha-nātha*, "the lord of '*Āmardaka-tīrtha*;'" and after him, Purandara. "When the king, the illustrious 'Avanti or Avantivarman' who was desirous of being initiated into the doctrines of the Śaiva faith, heard of great holiness of this sage he resolved to bring him to his own country. He accordingly went to Upendra-

[1] *Epigraphica Indica, Vol. I, p. 251 ff.*
[2] *Ibid, p. 354 ff.*
[3] *Ibid, Vol. III, pp. 292—302.*

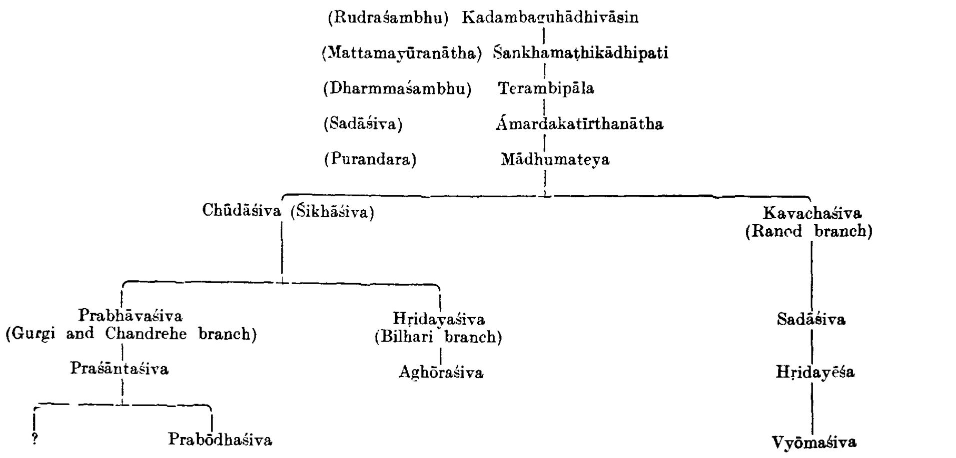
pura, induced the sage to accede to his request, was initiated by him in the Śaiva faith, and duly rewarded him. Purandara then founded a Maṭha, or residence of ascetics, at Matta-mayūra, the prince's town; and he also established another Maṭha at Rāṇipadra, the place where the inscription is. Next came Kavachaśiva; his disciple was Sadāśiva; and he was succeeded by Hṛidayeśa. Hṛidayeśa's disciple was Vyōmaśiva (Vyōmaśambhu, or Vyōmēśa), whose holiness and learning, in which he surpassed all manners of devotees, and learned men (the Śākyas or Buddhists, who are compared to elephants, the jackal-like Jainas, and others), are eulogised in verses 22-42."[1]

Therefore, in this inscription, are to be found the longest spiritual genealogy of the Matta-mayūra ascetics, beginning from Kadambaguhādhivāsin and ending with Vyōmaśiva or nine spiritual generations in all. The next inscription in order is the Bilhari inscription of the rulers of Chēdī where two different groups of Śaiva ascetics have been mentioned. First of all, there are three spiritual generations, in verse 43, where a sage named the Mādhumateya Pavanaśiva is mentioned, who was followed by Śabdaśiva, evidently the former's disciple. Śabdaśiva's disciple was Īśvaraśiva. The second group is longer and is described in nine verses (V. 48-56). Here we are told that "Worthy of honour is that Kadambaguhā, where there has been an uninterrupted line of saints; for them, again, was an object of veneration the chief of sages, Rudraśambhu (V. 48). On account of his might to be highly revered in the world, he there had a dsiciple, Mattamayūranātha, who, when he had removed every stain of impurity, became possessed, Oh! of the town (?) of the prince Avanti. (V. 49). After him came the holy Dharmaśambhu, who became an ornament of the world, (and) whose feet were worshipped by the lustre of the crest-jewels of princes; having reached the further shore of the ocean of the Śaiva doctrine by his austerities, he obtained the spotless pleasing renown due to him (V. 50). His disciple was, rich in austerities, Sadāśiva, whose venerable pair of feet was worshipped by princes with the rays of their diadems (V. 51). After him came his disciple, named Mādhumateya, full of radiance (and) subsisting on fruit and roots, in whom austerities and majestic splendour dwelt harmoniously together (?) (V. 52). He had a most venerable disciple, Chūḍāśiva, who, striving after final liberation, swept away the impurity consequent on actions (*performed in previous births*) (V. 53). Then (*came*) his disciple, named Hṛidayaśiva, a mine of all excellencies, whose fame deserves to be sung of even now: the soles of whose uniquely venerable feet were rendered lustrous by the collections of jewels in the diadems of princes (V. 54). For whom is that holy man not an object of laudation,—he who, an abode of every kind of knowledge, wise (*and*) true to his vows, still further increased the renown spread over the illustrious Mādhumateya lineage; and who surpassed the earth by his patience, the cloud by his fairness, the ocean by his propriety of conduct (*and*) the god of love by his freedom from passion? (V. 55). Or, rather, what need has that eminent sage of praise at all,—he whom the illustrious prince, the moon of the Chēdīs,

[1] *Epigraphica Indica, Vol. I, pp. 352-53.*

having shown his devotion by presents sent by well-conducted messengers, in due form brought hither, full of respect ? (V. 56). The illustrious Lakshmaṇarāja also, filled with devotion, himself made over to that great ascetic the monastery of the holy Vaidyanātha (V. 57). And the sage, having accepted it, again gave the holy Nauhaleśvara monastery to his well-conducted disciple Aghoraśiva" (V. 58).[1]

A comparison of this spiritual genealogy with that to be found in the Ranod inscription shows nothing in common. The third inscription, that of the Kalchūrī-Chēdī year 724, in the Monastery at Chandrehe, clears up all the difficulties in the identifications. According to this inscription, in the family of Matta-mayūra (ascetics) was Purandara, whose disciple was Śikhāśiva. From the lord of Madhumatī was born (spiritually) Prabhāvaśiva, who was worshipped by Yuvarājadēva. His disciple was Praśāntaśiva, whose disciple Prabōdhaśiva caused the inscription to be incised. Now the Gurgi inscription, mentioned above, supplies us with the same spiritual genealogy, omitting Purandara and giving Chūḍāśiva as the name of the spiritual ancestor of Prabhāvaśīva, instead of Śikhāśiva. The name of his disciple Prabhāvaśiva, the disciple's disciple (Praśāntaśiva), disciple's disciple's disciple (Probōdhaśiva) being the same, both in the Gurgi and the Chandrehe inscriptions, there cannot be any doubt about the fact that Śikhāśiva and Chūḍāśiva were one and the same person. This identity being established we may proceed to compare the names given in the Ranod inscription. It should be remembered in this connection that the Chandrehe inscription mentions Purandara as the spiritual ancestor of Chūḍāśiva, while the Bilhari inscription calls this person Mādhumatēya or the lord of Madhumatī. As both the Bilhari inscription and the Chandrehe inscription mention Chūḍāśiva, there cannot be but very little doubt about the identity of Purandara with this lord or Madhumatī. This identity being established we find that the real names of the spiritual ascendants of Purandara are to be found in the Bilhari inscription and the following genealogy of the ascetics of the Mattamayūra clan is obtained :—



[1] *Ibid, pp. 267-68.*

The Ranod inscription informs us that Purandara was the spiritual preceptor of a chief named Avantivarman, who had come from Kadambaguhā to Madhumatī and founded the monasteries at Madhumatī and Ranod. The real greatness of the Mattamayūra ascetics may be said to begin from this abbot. His disciple, Chūḍāśiva or Śikhāśiva is called the lord of Madhumatī in the Chandrehe inscription and therefore he must have stayed in Mālava. The same inscription mentions that Prabhāvaśiva, who had been worshipped by many kings, had been specially honoured by Yuvarājadēva. As there were two kings of this name of the Chēdī dynasty, the import of this statement was but imperfectly understood till the discovery of the Gurgi inscription of Prabōdhaśiva in April 1920. From this inscription we learn that Prabhāvaśiva was brought to the Chēdī country by Yuvarājadēva, the son of Mugdhatunga *i.e.* Yuvarājadēva I and made to accept a monastery (V. 6). Unfortunately for us the Gurgi inscription does not specify which particular monastery was accepted by Prabhāvaśiva. It is certain, however, that this monastery was not the monastery at Bilhari, where another spiritual descendant of Chūḍāśiva was brought later on. Probability is in favour of the fact that this monastery stood at the place where the inscription was found *i.e.* somewhere near or on the mound called Gurgaj at Gurgi, most probably the ruin called the fort of Rehuta.

Like the Bilhari inscription, the last few lines of this record also are devoted to the enumeration of the different villages belonging to the monks combined with an account of the kings who gave them. Thus in line 4? four or five villages are named of which the names of three are clear *i.e.* Sārasadollaka, Vakadollaka, Rājyaüchchhikā. The next line mentions another village named Abhīrapallī and a second name which may be the name of a village or that of a river *viz.* Sarasvatī. Here also a piece of land is mentioned called a Kavacha-kshetra. The 45th line supplies with the names of four villages: Sāmantapāṭaka, Bhadvachiurā, Tujunyā and Kukkudiyā. The 47th line contains the name of three villages, two of which can be properly read and that of a piece of land. These villages are Karodhaka, Brahmapurī and the name of the piece of land is *Nannēśvara-kshetra*. It is mentioned specially that these properties were given to a god named Sōmanātha. This list of properties belong to the monks or to the gods mentioned in the inscription, with the monks as the worshippers of these gods at the time when Prabōdhaśiva, the disciple's disciple of Prabhāvaśiva was the abbot. The Gurgi inscription is therefore a generation later than the Bilhari inscription. Prabōdhaśiva appears to have been the contemporary of Kokkalla II and his son Gāṅgēyadēva. It is known from the Bilhari inscription that, Nohalā, the wife of Yuvarāja I, gave the villages of Nīpāṇīyā and Ambipāṭaka to an ascetic named Īśvaraśiva, the disciple of Śabdaśiva and the disciple's disciple of Pavanaśiva, who belonged to Madhumatī (V. 43-44). It is thus clear that three different ascetics from Madhumatī were given grants of land by Yuvarāja I, Keyūravarsha, *i.e.*, Prabhāvaśiva, a disciple of Chūḍāśiva, who was given the monastery of Gurgi and Īśvaraśiva, the disciple of Śabdāśiva, whose connection with Purandara cannot be definitely established as yet. Another disciple of Chūḍāśiva named Hṛidayaśiva or Hṛidayēśa was brought to this

country evidently by Yuvarāja I. It is stated in the 57th verse that Lakshmaṇarāja, the son and successor of Yuvarāja I, made over the monastery of the holy Vaidyanātha to this ascetic. Hṛidayaśiva, having accepted it, gave the monastery of Nauhalēśvara to his disciple Aghōraśiva (V. 58). The inscription was set up by Aghōraśiva in the monastery of Nauhalēśvara. There is therefore no difficulty in identifying the ruins at Bilhari with this monastery. The monastery of Vaidyanātha stood in the city of Tripurī itself.

The long Bilhari inscription ends with a list of benefactions received by the Śaiva ascetics. Verses 79 to 82 refer to the revenue in kind received by them. Thus in verse 79 it is stated that from the salt mines $\frac{1}{16}$th of the produce and from the oil mills $\frac{1}{16}$th of the produce, is to be given. The next verse refers to fruits and vegetables such as *Pūgaphala*,[1] red chillies, *Śuṇṭhi*[2] etc. *Pūgaphala* is used with betel leaves while red chillies and *Śuṇṭhi* are used for cooking. The second part of this verse refers to the revenue in money. One cowrie shell (*kapardi*) was taken from each shop (*Vīthi*) as well as revenue in kind in the shape of greens, *śāka* and brinjals. The next verse refers to things given by different communities such as Rasavaṇikas and Dhīmāra (*Dhimār*). The second part of this verse mentions the gift of four elephants and two horses by the citizens.

During two generations, three different Śaiva ascetics were brought from Madhumatī, in Mālava, to the Chēdī country and provided with lands and monasteries. The first of these monasteries was at Gurgi with its dependancy at Chandrehe. The second monastery was at Bilhari with which was Nauhalēśvara. The third monastery was at Tripurī and was called the monastery of Vaidyanātha. Nothing is known about the foundation started by Īśvaraśiva as yet. The abbots of Gurgi were very well off as is known from the Gurgi inscription. Thus it is stated therein that Praśāntaśiva built a number of temples and monasteries. Verse eleven states that he had built a temple of Śiva close to the very high temple built by the illustrious Yuvarājadēva. The next verse states that in the chambers surrounding the temple (evidently the temple of Yuvarāja I), he had set up a large number of images of (1) Śiva with Umā, (2) Umā, (3) Shaḍānana, (4) Gaṇapati and (5) Sarasvatī. The images of Śiva with Umā and Umā are still lying on the Gurgaj mound at Gurgi. From the 13th verse we learn that the same abbot built a retreat for himself on the banks of the Śōṇa. This information supplied by the Gurgi inscription is further supplemented by the Chandrehe inscription, where in verse seven, it is stated that Praśāntaśiva built a retreat for himself at the confluence of the river Śōṇa. This retreat, which was situated at the foot of Bhramaraśaila is still called by the name of Bhamarsen, and is situated at a distance of two or three miles from Chandrehe itself.[3] The Chandrehe inscription states that Praśāntaśiva had built the temple of Śiva at Chandrehe, which was the first temple of the circular type discovered (V. 16). The Gurgi inscription informs us that this princely abbot, with the intention of living in a holy place, built another retreat for himself on

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[1] Areca nut, common *supāri* or betelnut.

[2] Dried ginger.

[3] Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. XIII, pp. 14-15.*

the Ganges, most probably at Benares. These retreats are lordly buildings which any prince may have been proud of. For example the monastery built by Prabōdhaśiva at Chandrehe is a two-storied building, very well decorated with spacious rooms for dormitories and smaller chambers for use as shrines.

It is not possible even now to ascertain how long these abbots continued to enjoy the gifts bestowed on them by the early kings of the Haihaya dynasty; but it appears from the later grants of the Haihaya kings that some of them at least continued in favour. Thus, in the grant of Govindachandra of V. S. 1177=1120 A.D., it is mentioned that the village of Karaṇḍa, which was given by the king Yaśaḥkarṇṇa to the Śaiva teacher, the royal spiritual preceptor, Rudraśiva, was given by Govindachandra to the Ṭhakkura Vasishṭhaśarmman.[1] The name Rudraśiva reminds one of the other names such as Aghōraśiva and Prabōdhaśiva. Similarly the Kumbhi plates of Vijayasiṁha, of the Kaḷachūrī-Chēdī year 932, mentions a Śaiva teacher, who was also the royal spiritual preceptor, named Vidyādēva.[2] According to the Bherāghat inscription of Alhaṇā-dēvī, a temple of Śiva, called Vaidyanātha, was built by her. She gave two villages called Nāmauṇḍī and Makarapāṭaka to this god. The management of the grant and the temple was left to the Pāśupata ascetic Rudraśiva of the Lāṭa lineage.[3] This person was apparently the same as that who was the recipient of the village of Karaṇḍa from Yaśaḥkarṇṇa and which was taken away from him by Govindachandra in 1120 A.D. As Rudraśiva was living in the Kaḷachūrī-Chēdī year 907=1155 A.D., there cannot be any doubt about the fact that the Antarāla *pattalā* had been conquered from Yaśaḥkarṇṇa shortly before 1120 A.D.

Another line of Śaiva teachers who were brought to the Chēdī country is mentioned in a Kākatīya inscription dated 1261 A.D. Rudradēvī gave certain lands situated to the south of the river Krishna to a Śaiva teacher named Viśvēśvara-Śambhu who had initiated the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati and the kings of the Chēdī, Mālava and the Chōḷa countries. According to it Viśvēśvara-Śambhu was an inhabitant of the village of Pūrvagrāma in the province of Rāḍhā of the Gauḍa country.[4] This interesting inscription has not been published as yet.

[1] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXI, 1862, p. 124.*

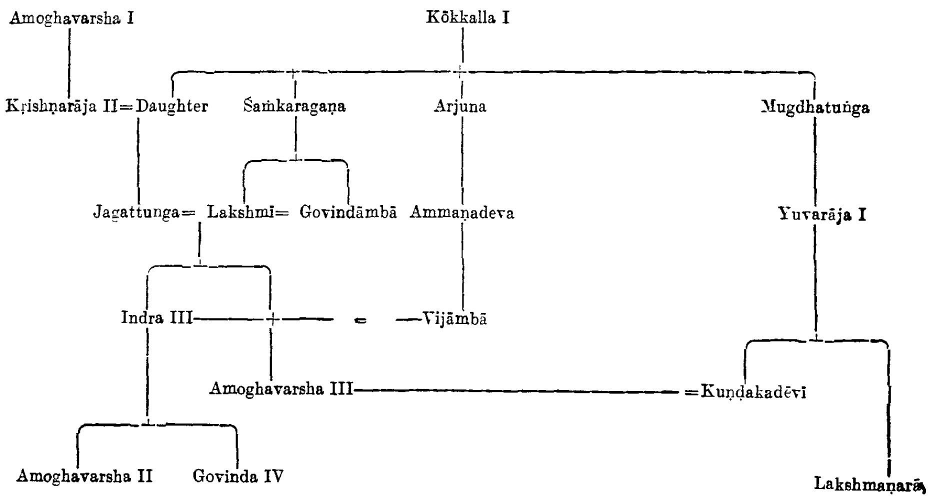
[2] *Ibid, p. 119.*

[3] It is quite possible that Mattamayūra was situated in the Lāta country. *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, pp. 296-301.*

[4] *Annual Report of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, for the year 1916-17, pp. 123-24.*

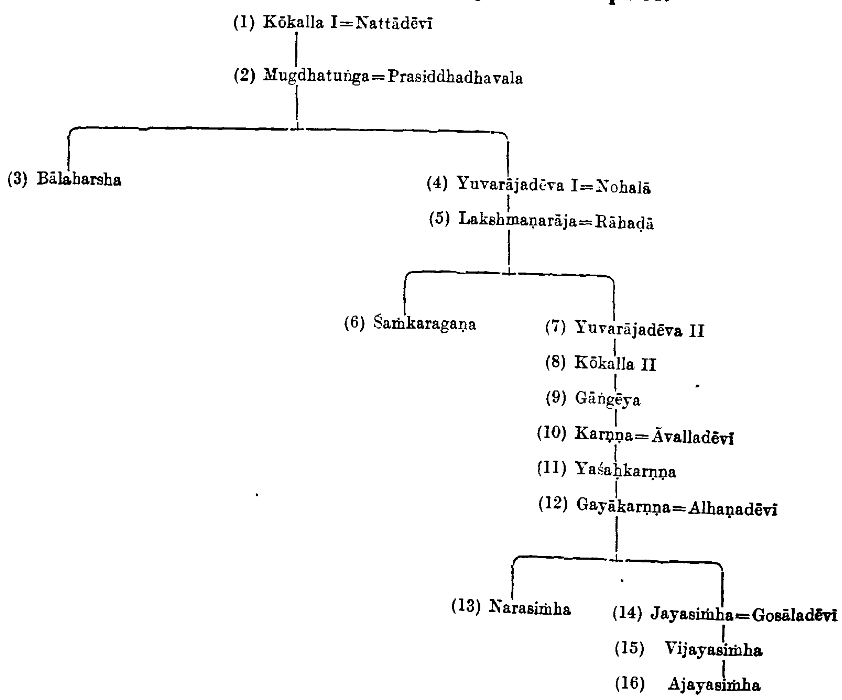
APPENDIX A.

Relationship between the Haihayas and the Rashtrakutas.



APPENDIX B.

Genealogical Table of the Haihayas of Tripuri.



APPENDIX C.

New Inscriptions.

The historical information gleaned from six newly discovered and unpublished inscriptions has been used in drafting the chronology of the Haihayas of Tripurī in this work. The earliest of these is the Chandrehe inscription of the abbot Prabōdhaśiva of the Kalachuri Chēdī year 724=973 A.D. This inscription is incised on two slabs of stone which are built into the masonry of the Śaiva monastery at Chandrehe, a small village on the river Sone, twenty-nine miles south of Rewa town, the antiquities of which have been described in Chapter II. The second inscription was originally discovered at Gurgi, a place twelve miles due east of Rewa town but which has since been removed from the place of its discovery and built in front of the wall, below the Durbar Hall of the Maharajas of Rewa. This inscription is another record of the Śaiva abbot Prabōdhaśiva, but is undated. The third inscription was found in the store of the office of Dewan Bahadur Pandit Janaki Prasad, M.A., LL.B., Home Member of the Council of Regency, Rewa State, in April 1920. The fourth inscription was discovered in one of the small guardrooms built along the walled enclosure which surrounds the Palace at Rewa. Its findspot is unknown. The fifth inscription was discovered through the help of Dr. Shevde, Sub-assistant surgeon in charge of Sutna Agency hospital in 1920 and 1921. It was discovered in a small bungalow belonging to the Maihar State, in the village of Jura, situated within the same State, which lies at a distance of two to three miles from the great Deccan Road, or as it is known in Northern India, the Calcutta-Bombay Road. This inscription is written in South Indian characters and the language is Kanarese. It was deciphered by Mr. K. Subrahmanya Iyer, Assistant Superintendent, attached to the office of Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, who has very kindly allowed me to utilise the historical information to be gleaned from it. As this inscription is to be published very shortly in the Epigraphia Indica, it is not necessary to publish the text and translation at this place. The sixth inscription was found on the lintel of a doorway of the temple of Vaidyanātha at Bheraghat in the Jubbulpore District. It was noticed before by Rai Bahadur Hiralal but has not been properly published as yet. The text of the first four inscriptions is being republished here with the sanction of Sir John Marshall, Kt., C.I.E., M.A., Litt.D., F.S.A., because though these inscriptions have been sent to the editor of the Epigraphia Indica for publication in that journal, they cannot be printed within four or five years to come.

I. The Chandrehe Inscription of Prabōdhaśiva.

Text.

A

1. Ōṁ namaḥ Śivāya || Phaṇi-śvāsa-śyāmē svanad-amara-nady-ambhasi cha yaj-jaṭā-jūṭ-āmbhōdē nayana-śikhi-vidyud=vilasati | Tathā chūḍā-chandra-dyuti-

2. nikara-dhāı=ēva kakubham kapālānāṁ mālā tula[y]ati sa Śarvvō vijayatē ||[1] [1*] Hansa-śyēni[2] -hasita-mahasāṁ saṁhatiś=Śaṅkarasya sphārī-bhūtā vadanam=abhitō

3. nāga-charmm-āvṛitasya kiñchit-kaṇṭha-chchhavi-kalushitā mēgha-nirvan-mṛigāṅkachchhāyāṁ svachchhāṁ sapadi dadhatī sampadaṁ vō dadātu ||[3] [2*] Nārī-saṁvaraṇa-pravīṇa-charaṇa-vyā-

4. pāraṇā-ghūrṇṇita-kshōṇī-kuṇḍa-namat-phan-īśvara-phaṇaṁ vidrāṇa-dig-vāra-naṁ [| *] Dōrddaṇḍa-bhramaṇād=akāṇḍa-chalitabrahmāṇḍakhaṇḍaṁ mudē bhūyād=vō nivida-

5. kvaṇad[4]-ḍamarukaṁ Chaṇḍīpatēs=tāṇḍavaṁ ||[5] [3*] Śrī-man-Matta-mayūra-santatir=iyaṁ Gaṁg=ēva lōka-ttrayaṁ pūyād=yattra Purandaraḥ kṛita-tapā jajñē gurur=bhūbhujām Śishyas=ta

6. sya Śikhāśivah śikhi-samō vibhrat=tapas-tējasā dīpatvaṁ vinipātit-āndhatamasō nirvvāṇa-mārggē sthitaḥ ||[6] [4*] Tatō Madhumatī-patēḥ kṛita-mahā-tapa-

7. s-sañchayah Prabhāvaśiva ity=abhūt=sakala-śaiva-chūḍāmaṇiḥ Anēka-nṛipa-vanditah sa Yuvarājadēvēna yas=tapōdhana-patih kṛi[ta]ś=charaṇa-pūta-gō-lagnikaḥ ||[7] [5*]

8. Praśāntaśiva-chandramās=tad-anu tasya śishyō=bhavat=tamah-prama-than-ōdyama-prakaṭita-svarūpaḥ śuchiḥ | Babhāra guṇishu śriyaṁ kumuda-kalpa-śaivēshu yaḥ samujjvala-

9. yaśah-prabhā-dhavalit-ākhil-āśā-mukhaḥ ||[8] [6*] Sa Śōṇa-nada-saṅgamē Bhramara-śaila-mūlē=tulaṁ priyāla-vana-saṁkulē phala-mṛiṇāla-kand-āśanaḥ | Chakā-

10. ra viditaṁ janair=muni-sakhah praśānt-āśramaṁ sva-pāda-pada-paṁktibhiḥ pavita-bhūtalō yaḥ kṛitī ||[9] [7*] Dēv-ōdyāna-gat-ēndra-saṁsadi mudā gandharvva-vidyādharai-

11. r=ānandāya cha Dhūrjjaṭēḥ ślathayatā vādy-ādaraṁ Nandinā | Līlā-lōlita-maulinā kara-galad-valgēna yasy=ōchhakair bhāsvat-sārathinā tathā

12. prati-tapaḥ sasvad[10]=yaśō gīyatē ||[11] [8*] Prabōdhaśiva ity=abhūt=sakala śishya-vargg-āgraṇīḥ[12] sa tasya Madana-dvishaḥ Paraśurāma-nāmā yathā | Yaśaḥ-khachita-

13. diṅ-mukhō[13] guṇi-janāya vittaṁ dadan=ṛiṇī-kṛita-vasundharō vijita-śattru-varggaś=cha yah ||[14] [9*] Udagra-śikhi-tarppaṇa-praguṇit-aika-pāṇiḥ kshaṇaṁ kumāra

14. iva sarvvadā parihṛit-āṅganā-saṅgamaḥ | Samunnatamahībhṛiti prakaṭit-ātma-śakti-kramō Manōbhava-ripu-priyō vihita-dēva-kāryaś=cha yaḥ ||[15] [10*]

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[1] *Śikhariṇī.*
[2] Read *śrēṇī.*
[3] *Mandākrāntā.*
[4] Read *kvaṇad.*
[5] *Śarddūlavikrīḍita.*
[6] *Śarddūlavikrīḍita.*
[7] *Pṛithivī.*
[8] *Pṛithivī.*
[9] *Pṛithivī.*
[10] Read *śaśvad.*
[11] *Śārddūlavikrīḍita.*
[12] Read *agraṇī.*
[13] Read *diṅ-mukhaṁ.*
[14] *Pṛithivī.*
[15] *Pṛithivī.*

B

15. Vichārya nikhil-āgamān=vidhi-samādhi-vuddhēśvaraḥ priyāla-phala-mūlak-āmalaka-śāka-śālūka-bhuk | Nadē=ṅkita[1]-dhaiā-talē guru-jan-ānu-

16. kārī tapaś=charaṁ ñjagati[2] vismayaṁ vyadhita bāla-bhāvē=pi yah[3] [11*] Mahībhṛin-mūrddhāgra-praguṇatara-pādaḥ samudayī dadhan=mittratvaṁ yas=timira-bhidu-

17. raṁ käryam=akarōt tathā sandhy-ārambhē nikhila-jana-vandyaḥ kim= aparaṁ pratāpēna vyāpnōt=tri-bhuvanam=api prāpta-mahimā ||[4] [12*] Gurugrāva-grām-ōtkhana-

18. na-dalana-dhvansa-vidhinā mahidhrē thānaṁ[5] yō vyadhita jaladhau Rāghava iva Sarit-srōtaḥsv=ēvaṁ vipina-gahanēshv=adbhuta-karaṁ jagaty= āścharyaṁ hi prathaya-

19. ti mahat karmma mahatāṁ ||[6] [13*] Jaḍa-tara-maruch-Chhōṇasy=āmbhaḥ-kaṇair=ayam=āśramō mṛigapati-mahādhvānai[7] rāttrau pratidhvanit-āmvaraḥ | Śikhari-śikha-

20. ra-prānta-prēṅkhad-dvirēpha-payōdharō janayati janē vidyuch-chhaṅkāṁ mahaushadhi-rōchishā ||[8] [14*] Chumbanti vānara-gaṇā mṛiga-śattru-pōtān=siṁhīstanaṁ pivati ch=ā-

21. ttra śiśur=mṛigasya | Vairaṁ nijaṁ pariharanti virōdhinē=nyē sarvvasya śāmyati manō hi tapōvanēshu ||[9] [15*] Guru-kṛita-sur-āgārād=ārād=amūṁ ma-

22. tham=unnataṁ svakam=iva yaśaḥ-śubhr-ābhr-ābhaṁ viśālaṁ achīkarat | [16*] Anugiram=athō Sindhu-prakhyaṁ taḍāgaṁ achīkhanat=prachura-salilaṁ kūpaṁ ch=āttra

23. Prabōdhaśivaḥ śamī ||[10] [16*] Śrī-mat-Praśānta-śiva-kāritam=attra kūpaṁ kālēna śīrṇṇa-patit-ākhila-dāru-pūraṁ | bhaktyā gurōr=guru-śilā-rachanā-

24. vichittraṁ sō=chīkarat=tadanu dūram=achīkhanach=cha ||[11] [18*] Babhūva bhuvi Dīkshitō vihita-kīrttanō Mēbhukaḥ[12] sa sajjana-gaṇ-āgraṇīr=ajanayat=sutaṁ

25. Jēikaṁ | Tatas=Khamarik-ōdarē samabhavat=kavir=Dvāṁsaṭaḥ praśastim=akarōd=asau vikaṭavarṇṇa-bandhām=imāṁ[13] [19*] Paśupati-jaṭā-jūṭa-bhrāntā himā-

26. dṛi-śilā-tala-skhalita-salilā chañchad-vīchiḥ pavittrita-bhūtalā | Vrajati saritāṁ nāthaṁ yāvad=Bhagīratha-vartmanā sura-sarid=iyaṁ tāvat=kīrttiḥ sthir=āstu bhuvi sthitā ||[14] [20*] La-

27. kshmīdhara-sutaḥ khyātō Vāsudēv-ānujaḥ sudhīḥ | Imāṁ Dāmōdarō-lēkhit=praśastiṁ pravar-āksharāṁ ||[15] [21*] Sūtradhāra-Sūrāk-ājñay=ōtkīrṇṇā Nīlakaṇṭhēna || Saṁvat 724 Phālguna Śudi 6 ||

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[1] Read *Nad-āṅkita.*
[2] Read *charañ-jagati.*
[3] *Pṛithivī.*
[4] *Śikhariṇī.*
[5] Read *sthānaṁ.*
[6] *Śikhariṇī.*
[7] Read *mahāsvanai.*
[8] *Hariṇī.*
[9] *Vasantatilaka.*
[10] *Hariṇī.*
[11] *Vasantatilaka.*
[12] Read *Mēdukaḥ.*
[13] *Pṛithivī.*
[14] *Hariṇī.*
[15] *Anushṭubh.*

Translation.

A

That Śiva (*Śarvva*) is victorious, whose piles of matted hair, being like a cloud, on account of its being black (as a cloud is black) with the fumes of snakes, resounding with the waters of the divine river Ganges (as a cloud resounds with thunder) and flashing with the fire of (his third) eye (as a cloud flashes with lightning), (and) whose garland of human skulls brightens the different quarters, as the rays of the combined effulgence of the Moon in his crest (1).

Let the beauty, of the great laugh of Śaṅkara, near his expanded mouth, who is clothed in the skin of an elephant, which is as white as a row of geese, which is slightly darkened by the reflection of his neck (which is dark or blue on account of the poison drunk by Śiva at the time of the churning of the Ocean), (and therefore) which is like the Moon emerging from a cloud, (and) which gives clear light in the way, give you riches (2).

Let the Tāṇḍava dance of the lord of Chaṇḍī cause you pleasure, which caused the hood of the lord of the snakes to be lowered on account of the drumming on the earth, (which was) caused to revolve on account of the stepping of the feet skilled in protecting the female (body, which Śiva held on his shoulders), (again) which (dance) caused the elephants of the cardinal points to become afraid on account of the movement of his rodlike arms, which (dance, again) caused violent movement of the universe (and) which caused deep sound on the *ḍamaru* (3).

Let these descendants of the illustrious Mattamayūra (clan) purify the three worlds, like the Ganges, in which (clan) was born Purandara, who had performed austerities (*tapas*) and who was the spiritual preceptor of kings. His disciple (was) Śikhāśiva (who was) like the fire, (and) who by the fire of his austerities, having destroyed the darkness of ignorance and standing in the path of *nirvāṇa*, held the qualities of a lamp (to show the proper way) (4).

After that lord of Madhumatī came Prabhāvaśiva (who) had accumulated great merit (*tapas*), who was worshipped by many kings, who was the crest-jewel of all Śaivas (and who) was made to accept land sanctified by his feet (*i.e.* to settle in this part of the country) by Yuvarājadēva (5).

After him came Praśāntaśiva, the Moon, the pure, his disciple, whose real self became manifest in his attempt to dispel the darkness of ignorance, and who by whitening all the quarters with the rays of his bright fame, acted on the meritorious Śaivas as the moon acts on the *Kumuda* flowers, by giving them beauty (or riches) (6).

He, whose food was fruits, the stalk of the lotus and bulbs, who was accompanied by the Munis, who had sanctified the earth by his footsteps, and who was pious, built a pleasant hermitage well known to the people, at the confluence of the Sōṇa at the foot of the Bhramara mountain covered with dense forest of *priyāla* trees[1] (7).

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[1] *Buchanania latifolia.*

Whose fame was incessantly sung in a high tone by Gandharvvas and Vidyādharas, with delight, in the garden of gods, in the assembly of Indra, and by Nandin, who relaxing his attention to his playing instrument, (sang his praise) for the pleasure of Śiva, (and by) the charioteer of the Sun who lolling his head (from one side to the other in extasy) let the reins of the horses slide, from his hands, in every (month of) Māgha (8).

He, Prabōdhaśiva, was the foremost among all his (Praśāntaśiva's) disciples, just as Paraśurāma was of the enemy of Madana (*i.e.* Śiva), who had conquered all enemies, who had made the earth his debtor, (and) who had adorned the cardinal points by his fame, by bestowing riches on the qualified (9).

Who, for some time, was like Kumāra (*Kārttikēya*), whose one hand was versed in pouring libations on high tongues of fire (as Kumāra's one hand was versed in pacifying his fierce peacock), who had always abjured the company of women, who had shown the effect of his own power on powerful kings (high mountains), who was the favourite of (Śiva), the enemy of the mind-born (Kāma) (as Kumāra also was, being his son), and who had performed the duties of the gods (or imposed upon him by the gods)[1] (10).

B

Who was chief among those who had knowledge of meditation (*samādhi*) according to rules (*vidhi*), who lived on greens (*śāka*), roots of water plants (*sālūka*) and fruits such as *āmalaka*, *priyāla* as well as roots (*mūla*), who was also well known for his simplicity, who was the imitator of his spiritual preceptor in this earth marked by rivers, having consulted all the scriptures (and) who had caused (people) in the world to wonder by performing austerities (11).

Who, having obtained power, set his auspicious foot on the head of kings, (and) acting as the Sun, caused their ignorance to be dispelled (just as the Sun, having risen, sends his strong rays on the peaks of mountains and, acting as the friend of all, causes darkness to be dissipated), who was the worshipped of all in peace-making (just as the Sun is worshipped by all in the evening or at the time of the three *Sandhyās*), who had obtained greatness by power, which had spread throughout the three worlds (just as the Sun obtained greatness by his rays which were spread over the three worlds). What else ? (12).

Who had caused an establishment to be built on the hill as Rāghava did in the sea, by the expedient of excavating, breaking and crushing masses of heavy stones in the midst of streams and in dense forests (and thus) performed an unprecedented, wonderful act in this world. Great are the deeds of the great (13).

At night, this retreat (*āśrama*) causes people to suspect lightning, on account of the bees flying at the ends of peaks of mountains (causing people to take them to be clouds), on account of the phosphorescence of plants (growing near it, resembling lightning), on account of roars of lions causing the skies to echo (resembling thunder) (and) on account of the cooler air (cooled) by the sprays of the waters of the Sōṇa (resembling rain) (14).

[1] Such as the slaughter of the demon Tāraka.

In this place monkeys kiss lion-cubs, the young deer suck at the breasts of lionesses, so other (mortal or natural) enemies take leave of their enmity in this forest of austerities (and) the minds of all become calm (15).

The calm Prabōdhaśiva caused a high and big monastery (*maṭha*) to be built, (which was) as beautiful as his own fame, which was like the colour of the white clouds. close to the temple (abode of gods), built by his spiritual preceptor; so also he caused a well and a tank with ample water, called the Sindhu, to be excavated close to the mountain (16).

(He). on account of his devotion for his spiritual ancestor, caused to be deeply excavated (and rebuilt) with beautiful masonry of heavy stones, a well, caused to be excavated by Praśāntaśiva at this place, (which) had become dilapidated on account of (the passage of) time, and full of wood (trees) (17).

There was a Dīkshita named Mēduka whose fame was known, in the earth. He begot a son named Jēika: from him, in the womb of Khamarikā, was born the poet Dvāṁsaṭa. He composed this *praśasti* of difficult composition (18).

Let this fame (of this work) last as long as this divine stream lasts on this earth and goes to the sea, along the way shown by Bhagīratha, (which divine stream is) wandering in the mass of matted hair of Śiva, (and whose) waters drop down from the rocks of Himādri, whose waves caused sound, (which) has caused the earth to be purified (19).

This *praśasti* was written. in excellent letters, by Dāmōdara, the learned, who was the younger brother of Vāsudēva (and) the son of Lakshmīdhara (20).

Inscribed by Nīlakaṇṭha, according to the orders of the mason Surāka. The year 724, the 6th day of the bright half of Phālguna.

II. The Gurgi Inscription of Prabōdhaśiva.

Text.

1. Oṁ Namō – – – – – – vāya || Laṅkā-vā ◡ – vāhu-vyatikara-chaṭula-sphāṭık-ādr-īndra-kōṭi-śrēṇī-saṁghaṭṭa-vidyud=gagana-chara-nara-chchadvala-

2. Śri ◡ – – | – – – – ◡ – lā jagad=akṛita tad-ākranda-nirhrāda-ghōra svachchhandah sō=drivāsi mudam=upachinutāch=chandra-chūḍāmaṇi=rvvah || (1)[1] Nandin=k=ēyaṁ pravishṭā yā guṇata-

3. yā – – – – – – dadhāti manya mithy=aitan=n=āsmi sāndrā – yaśa | Mugdha tvad-rūpa-dhārī tridaśa-ripur=asau dṛiśyatāṁ pātitō=grē kēn=āstrēn=ēti dē-

4. ś=ākṛi – – – cha na jitaḥ pātu maunī Śivo vaḥ || (2)[2] sa-yāchāyavary-ya – – – – – – – – – bha-snigdha-dhūma-pravandha-prāravdh-ākāla-mēgh-odaya-mada-mudit-ōnmādi-nṛityan-mayūrā |

5. -sty=uchchaiḥ [sau]dha-jāla-jvalad-ananu-maṇi-dyuti-pāñch-āṅga-mālaiḥ Svar-llōkam=vā hasantī jagati Madhumatī dhāma Saiddhāntikānāṁ || (3)[3] Pūrvvē yatı=āvatīrya vrata-niyata-manō- – ha-

[1] *Sragdharā.* [2] *Sragdharā.* [3] *Sragdharā.*

6. sas=tāpas-ēndrāḥ śishyāṇām=āśaśaṁsuḥ Śiva-matam=atanuvyasta-niḥśēsha-dōsham Yēshhām=āpi kīrttir=ddhavalayati sudhā-dhauta-kāntiḥ prasiddhā viśvaṁ sampanna-vidvaj-ja-

7. na-kumuda-van-ānandinīchandrik=ēva || (4)[1] Śaivānām=anvayē=sminn=ati-mahati munir=mmānanīyō munīnām=ēnaḥ-śushk—ēndhanānān=dava-dahana iva dyōtamānair=mmahōbhiḥ |

8. Śrīmāṁś=Chūḍāśivō=bhūd=bhava-charaṇa-yuga-dhyāna-vōdh-arddhi-lābha-prōdbhūt-ātyanta-śubhra-tribhuvana-bhavan—ābhyantara-bhrānta-kīrttiḥ ||(5)[2] Tasy=ākhila-kshitipati-praṇat-ōttam-āṅga-chūḍā-

9. maṇi-dyuti-chay-ārchchita-pāda-pīṭhaḥ śishyō babhūva bhuvana-traya-kīrttanīyaḥ Śrīmat-Prabhāvaśiva-nāma-munir=mmanīshī || (6)[3] Ānīya yaṁ sahaja-vāsanayā nayajñaḥ Śrī-Mugdha-

10. tuṅga-tanayo Yuvarājadevaḥ | Saty-ōpakāra-bhavad-uttama-kīrtti-hētōr=agrāhayan=maṭham=ananta-dhana-pratishṭham || (7)[4] Tasy=āmalēna tapasā cha vivarddhamāna-vidyā-valēna cha sama-

11. sta-jagat-pratītaḥ | Śishyaḥ prakāma-kamanīya-guṇ-aika-dhāma Śrīmat-Praśāntaśiva-nāma[5]-munir=vvabhūva || (8)[6] Ākrisht=āchira-—sañchitēna tapasā yasy=āṅga-saṅg-ōtsukā Lakshmīrbhoga-

12. parāṅmukhasya satataṁ niḥśrēyas-ākāṁkshayā | Ājñāṁ prāpya parōpakāra-kritayē tad-vallabhānāṁ satāṁ sthānēshu sthiratām=avāpa vanit=ēv=ātyanta-satya-vratā || (9)[7] Tyāgaṁ stambham=i-

13. v=āvalamvya vilasaj-jñān-āmvu-sēka-kriyām=āsādya prasarat-tapō-vala-krita-pratyanta-rakshā-kramaḥ | Itthaṁ yasya yaso(śo)mayaḥ sa vavṛidhē kālēna kalpadrumo yēna vyāptam=idam=prasa-

14. hya sakalaṁ brahmāṇḍa-bhāṇḍ-ōdaram || (10)[8] Yēna Śrī-Yuvarāja-kārita-lasat-Kailāsa-śriṅg-ōpama-prāsād-ōttarataḥ Sumēru-śikhara-sparddhi prasiddham=bhuvi sadma sthāpitam=īśva-

15. rasya sakala-trailokya-vismāpakaṁ yat=svarggaṁ vrajatas=tadīya-yasa(śa)sah sōpāna-mārggāyatē | (11)[9] Yaḥ pratyatishṭhipad=Umām=Umayā cha miśram=Īśam Shaḍānanam=atha prathit-ōru-kīrttiḥ

16. prāsāda-sannihita-dēva-grihēshu vidvān=dvārē tathā Gaṇapatīñ=cha Sarasvatīñ=cha || (12)[10] Dāh-ōttīrṇṇa-suvarṇṇa-dāna-śamita-dravy-ārthi-sārtha-sprihaḥ siddha-sthānam=achīkarat=tad=aparaṁ yaḥ Śō-

17. ṇa-tīr-ōpari | Yasmin=yōgajushaḥ praviśya niyama-dhvast-āntarāy-ādhayaḥ śāntāḥ siddha-samādhayē=dhumatayō[11] gachchhanti muktēḥ padam || (13)[12] Tīrtha-sthāna-nishevan-ōdyata-dhiyā-

18. m=atyanta-viśrāntayē yas=tat=kāritavān muniḥ sura-sarit-tīrē tapaḥ-sthānakaṁ yat=saṁsēvya Mahēśvar-ārchchana-ratā Vārāṇasī-vāsinō manyantē bhava-sāgaraṁ gurum=api kshīṇaṁ

[1] *Sragdharā.*
[2] *Sragdharā.*
[3] *Vasantatilaka.*
[4] *Vasantatilaka.*
[5] Read *nāmā.*
[6] *Vasantatilaka.*
[7] *Vasantatilaka.*
[8] *Śārddulavikrīdita.*
[9] *Śārddulavikrīdita.*
[10] *Vasantatilaka.*
[11] Read *dhvamatayō.*
[12] *Śārddulavikrīdita.*

19. ◡ – ◡ padam || (14)[1] Āsīnasya jit-āsanasya vijanē hṛit-padma-madhya—sthita-sthāṇu-dhyāna-nilīna-niśchala-manaḥ-saṁvēdit-āntar-mmudaḥ | Jagmur=yasya dināni dāna-nirata

20. – – ◡ – – Śiva-tatva-jñāna-vichakshanaiś=cha guṇibhiḥ sārddhaṁ parīkshā-kshamaiḥ (15)[2] Tīvr-āṁśōr=aṁśu-saṁghā iva niratiśay-ōllāsinaḥ svaiḥ prabhāvai[r]=yasy=āntēvāsinō=ndhas-tamasi ni-

21. – – – – – – ◡ ◡ – – ◡ – bōdhayaty ⊣ – – =ālōka-dān-ōpakṛiti-pariṇamat-kīrttayaḥ saṁbhṛit-ājñā śubhrā bhūbhṛich-chhirōbhiḥ pravara-muni-janair=a [r]chyamānāś=charanti || (16)[3] Tasy=ābhava-

22. – – – – – – – – – – vēśvara – – – – āḥ samasta-kavi-puṁgava-gīta-kīrttiḥ śr-Īśāna-Śaṅka(?)ra-khil-āvani-pāla-mauli-mālā-maṇi-dyuti-piśaṁgita-pāda-padmaḥ || (17)[4] Nirjjitya

23. – – – – – ra – – – – – – – – – – – sarv[v]-ārthināṁ yēna Śrīr=ggamit-ōpabhōga-padavī daurggatya-duḥkha-chchhidā sad-vidyā-bhava-vandhana-vyatikara-pradhvansa-karmma-kshama-vyapar=ēti

24. samagra-sam[5] – – – – – – – – – – – – yō mādyat-kali-kālai-danti-dalana-vyāpāra-pañchānanaḥ Śrīman-Mattamayūra-vansa-tilakō niḥśesha-vidyānidhiḥ Vidvat=pa

25. – aśēsha-guṇ-ākarasya bhuvanē ma – – – ma – – – – Śrīmat-Prabōdhaśiva-nāma-nij-ānujasya sthānaṁ sama[r]pya viji[6]

26. – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – sya ya – – – pa – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – yēna tyāga-tapaḥ-samādhi-nidhinā sva-svāmi-nirmmāpita-

27. – ichita-siddhi-vādhaka- – –n=ōllaṁghayanty=anivare kṛi – – –

28. – gat-ārthinī dha – – – – sthāpya pūrvv-ēpisita-prājya-sva-

29. – kṛity=āvalla – – – – – sat-karmma nirmmāpitam |

30. – ta da na – – – – – r-unnat-ātmā tasy=āspado ? gra

31. – y – – – – ndrē ? rvvudē yasy=occhaiś=cha

32. – ma – – – ākshamaḥ || Sāmanta-pāṭa

33. – – – – – – – rupasa – nī-nāma || Eṇ-āṅk-ānvaya

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[1] *Śārddūlavikkrīḍita.*
[2] *Śārddulavikkrīḍita*
[3] *Sragdharā.*
[4] *Vasantatilaka.*
[5] *Śārddūlavikrīḍita.*
[6] *Śārddūlavikrīḍita.*

34. . . - - - - - - mandi— -
- -
- gṛihitvā talāt=khyātaṁ kha

35. -
- -
- nirjitya Gurjarapati

36. -
- -
- parijana-rakshō

37. -
- -
- s=ānanda-mauli-maṇi

38. - - - - tasmād=ari -
- -
- -
- -
- - - - - - - parākramō=bhūt || cha(?) trē pi ya - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

39. śchita-rūpam=ēv-ēndra(?) - - - Vīra-vrataṁ - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - -ta - - - - - ja -
- tavi - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- Vikrama-
nidhir=viparīta-mallah || Āsīn=nṛi-

40. paḥ kavi-kadamva - - - - mānasa -
- paṅkaḥ Tasmād=abhū - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - dita-pushpa –. -
ya māṇavapura-pratima-pratāpaḥ | Kōkalla —

41. dēva-nripatih patir=uttamānā -.
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - tāmbhu - - - - - - - - - - pravisati - - - - -
śaktir-gga - - - - - - - - - - - -m=ādriṁ jala-nidhi-jala-durggaṁ Gauḍa-rājō viśī.

42. te nivasati Vanavāsē Kuntalō - - - - - - - - - - - - - rēmbha ma - -
- - - - - ta -
ya kīrttanīya-puṇy-ānvitāya munayē svayam=a-

43. rchchitāya - - - nam=ullikhita śa - - - - rē varsha-nṛipatiḥ - - - - -
ma - - - - - yakka - - - - - - - ta tathā Sārasaḍōllakaṁ Vakkaḍollaka-Rājyau-

44. chchikō - - - - - Kāsapuṇḍikā - - - - - - - - - - - - - - purāṁ =cha
palli - - - - kal-Ābhīrapallī - - - - Sarasvatī || Tēshāṁ dvādaśakañ=cha kava-
cha-kshētram=eva cha

45. Sāmanta-pāṭakaś=cha=aiva va - - - - -layapadi-śāsana - - - - -
mity=api sa - - - Bhadvachiurā-Tujumvā cha Kukkuḍiyā || Rajō-grām-ānvit-ā

46. pētān=śāsanatvēna dattavān - - - - - [vēd]ānta-pāragāya garīyasā-
-pāra-jan-ākīrṇṇaṁ purasthā(?)dya—samastakaṁ | Bhaktyā samarppayāmāsa
śāsanam=ē

47. naṁ bhūpatih || Karoḍhakaṁ Vrahma-purīsivva - - - kapōṇḍikāṁ Nannē
śvara-kshētram=adāt=Sōmanāthāya sa - - - - pittrā Śrī-Yuvarājēna pālitā
sāntarair=nnṛipaiḥ | Ākalpa-

48. sthāyinī bhūyād=vrittiḥ Śaiva-tapō-bhritāṁ[1] || Bhāradvāj-ānvaya-Śrīmat-Trayīvarddhana-nandanaḥ | praśasti – – – – ta stutyāṁ madhu=mmadhurayā girā[1]|| Alēkhi lēkhakēn=ēvam=A

49. vvōka-tanu-janmanā aksharair=drishadi spashṭaiḥ Śivanāgēna dhīmatā ||[1] Utkīrṇṇā sūtradhārēṇa Madaśara-sutēna cha | Mādhavēna na – – – – – – guṇinā viśvakarmmaṇā[1] ||

Translation.

Om ! Salutation to Śiva. – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – the skill of moving arms – – – – – – – – – – the king of white mountains – – – – arms of the deep lightning which moves in the sky – – – – – – – – – at that time – – – – – who acted according to his own wishes in uttering deep sounding calls. the dweller of the mountain. the mooncrested one. let him cause us joy (1).

O Nandin. who is that. possessing good qualities. who has entered – – – – – Let Śiva. the silent. protect us – – – – – let it be seen – – – – – by what arm – – – – has been made to fall in front. he the enemy of the gods. the excellent one. who had assumed your form – (2).

In this world. the abode of the Saiddhāntikas (*Śaivas*) named Madhumatī is high and laughs (in derison) at the heaven. which (Madhumatī) was (full of) peacocks. shrieking and dancing in joy. at the rise of clouds. out of season formed by the masses of deep smoke (of sacrifices). – – – – – – – – the splendour of flashing jewels placed here and there on the array of palaces – – – – (3).

Being born in which family. previously. great performers of austerities, devoted to the performances of vows taught the liberal doctrine of Śiva. which was devoid of all faults. to disciples : whose fame (which was) as white as if it had been washed with nectar, which acted on the very learned, as the moon acts on *kumuda* flowers in gladdening them, whitens the universe even to-day (4).

In this great family of Śaivas was (born) the illustrious Chūḍāśiva, who, by his visible glory, burnt sin, which was like dry fuel. like wild fire. who was the sage respected among sages. whose very white fame. born of the possession of the wealth of knowledge by the meditation on the pair of feet of Bhava (Śiva), was spread all over the three worlds (5).

His disciple was the sage named Prabhāvaśiva. the learned. famous in the three worlds, whose footstool was worshipped by the accumulation of the lustre of jewels in the crests on the heads of numerous bowing kings (6).

Having brought him. Yuvarājadēva. the son of the illustrious Mugdhatuṅga, who possessed the knowledge of polity, on account of a sudden desire for good fame. which came into being on account of the welfare of all sentient beings caused to accept a monastery, built at great cost (7).

His disciple was the illustrious sage named Praśāntaśiva. who was the sole abode of all exceedingly beautiful qualities, who was famed in the entire universe by force of (on account of) his learning, who was increasing (in fame) on account of spotless austerities (8).

[1] *Anushṭubh.*

Lakshmī, being attracted by (his) long accumulated austerities, to him, (who), on account of the desire of final emancipation (*niḥśrēyas*), was averse to pleasure and she being desirous of bodily contact with him and having been ordered by him to benefit others, obtained fixity (*i.e.*, became stationary), like a very truthful wife, in the houses of the good who were his (Praśāntaśiva's) friends (9).

Having taken to self-sacrifice (as a support) like a pillar, having obtained the work of sprinkling the water of shining knowledge, he, who was protecting the frontiers with his increasing force of austerities, in this fashion increased (in fame) like a wishing tree full of fame; by whose fame the vase-like interior of the universe was at once filled (10).

By him a temple of Śiva was established (built), to the north of the temple, which was like shining peak of the Kailāsa mountain, built by the illustrious Yuvarājadēva, which temple aspired to be as high as the peak of the Sumeru mountain, which was famous in the world, which caused wonder in the three worlds (and) which temple acted like a stair-way (to heaven equally) to his fame as well as to those going to heaven (11).

Who, whose vast fame was well known, the learned, dedicated images of Umā, Umā mixed with Śiva (*Śiva-Durgā*) and Shaḍānana (*Kārttikēya*) in the temples surrounding the palace or big temple as well as those of Sarasvatī and Gaṇapati at the gate (12).

Who built another abode for *Siddhas* on the bank of the river Śōṇa, (he) who had quenched all desires for goods of desire, with gold, which had emerged (purified) from burning (*i.e.*, fire); having entered which abode, Yogins, who had exterminated sorrow and illness by (the performance of vows), (who were) free from passions and who had accomplished profound meditation, who were eager to obtain emancipation, obtain the rank of emancipation (13).

He, the sage, with a mind to live in a holy place, in order to obtain final rest, built an abode (for performing) austerities on the banks of the divine river (Ganges), having worshipped which (properly), the inhabitants of Benares, who are devoted to the worship of Maheśvara, think the ocean of the world (existence), heavy, yet weak, to be a – – – – – – – – pool formed by the footprint of a cow (14).

Seated in a solitary place, his days were passed with qualified able men, who were well versed in knowledge relating to Śiva, always – – – – – – he who was used to the proper mode of sitting in meditation, whose mind was fixedly devoted to the meditation of Śiva in his lotus-like heart (15).

Whose disciples roam, always exultant in deep darkness on account of their own powers, which were as bright as the rays of the powerful Sun. Whose fame was vast on account of the gift – – – – – a spark of the light of knowledge whose orders were held on the head of kings, (and) who were worshipped by the principal sages (16).

His (disciple) was – – – – – – – – – – – whose fame was sung by all principal poets, whose lotus-like feet were caused to be reddened by the splen-

dour of the jewels on the garlands on the crowns of the kings of the entire universe such as the illustrious Īśāna and Śaṅkara (Śaṁkaragaṇa ?) (17).

(L. 23) - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - by whom - - - - - - - of all petitioners for charity - - - - - - - the goddess of fortune, who had obtained the situation of enjoyment, by her who removes the sorrows of evil plight in the profession of being able to destroy the mixture caused by the ties of existence.

(Ll. 24-25) He, (who was a) lion in the profession of subduing the elephant of death in the shape of the Kali (age), (who was) the endless ocean of learning, the castemark on the forehead of the illustrious Mattamayūra clan, having given his place to his own younger named Prabōdhaśiva, who was the receptacle of endless good qualities, obtained satisfaction in this world.

(L. 26) - by whom, the ocean of self-sacrifice, austerities and meditation - - - - - caused to be built by his own master -.

(L. 27) - the obstacles to perfection - - - - - - - - - - - - leaps in the sky - - - - - - - - - - - -.

(L. 28) - having obtained what was wished for before -.

(L. 29) - good work - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - caused to be built -.

(L. 30) - the high soul - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - in front of his place -.

(L. 31) - in ten mlllions - whose high -.

(L. 32) - able to - Sāmanta-pāṭaka - - - - - - - - - - -

(L. 33) - In this family marked with a deer -

(L. 34) - having taken from the bottom - - - - - - - - - known - - - - - - - - - - - -

(L. 35) -. - having defeated the lord of Gurjara -.

(L. 36) - the protection of - - - - - - - family -

(L. 37) - the joyful - - - - - - - - - - - - crest jewel - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

(L. 38) - from him - - - - - - - foe - - - - - - - - - - - - - - was (born) the valiant -

(L. 39) - who had taken the vow of fighting - the sea of valour, the terrible fighter - - - - - was the king -

(L. 40) - from him was born - unequalled in valour among men, Kōkalla.

(L. 41) The king - enters - - - - - - - - - - - the king of Gauḍa should - - enter his water forts in the sea.

(L. 42) The Kuntala king lives in Vanavāsa - himself to the Muni who was possessed of merit - - - - - - - - - - - to be sung -

(L. 43) - - - - worshipped - - - - - - - - - - - mentioned above - - - the king - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Sārasaḍōllaka Vakaḍōllaka, Rājya-u-

(L. 44) chchikā - - - - - - - - Kasa - - puṇḍikā - - - - - - pura - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Ābhīrapallī - - - - - - - - - - Sarasavatī- - - - - - - - - - . To them the - - twelfth Kavacha field.

(L. 45) As well as Sāmanta-pāṭaka - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Bhadvachiurā Tujumbā and Kukkuḍiyā. Given to those possessing passion (*rajas*)

(L. 46) by an order (śāsana) - to the great one, who had seen the end of Vedānta, - - - - - - - - - - - endless crowded— - - - - - - - - - - -the king gave this order out of devotion.

(L. 47) Karōḍhaka, Vrahmapurī - - - - - Kapōṇḍikā- - the field (called) Nannēśvara was given to (the god) Sōmanātha - - - - - - by his father Yuvarājadēva, and protected by intermediate kings.

(Ll. 48-49) This property of the austere Śaiva ascetics, may it last till the end of times. This sweet *praśasti* was composed with sweet words- - - - - -in praise - - - - - - - - - - by - - - - - - - - - - - the son of Trayīvardhana of the Bhāradvāja lineage. This (*praśasti*) was written on stone, with clear letters, by the scribe, the intelligent Śivanāga, born of the body of Avvōka. Incised by the mason, the gifted artisan Mādhava, son of Madaśara.

III. The Rewa inscription of Vapullaka.

Text.

1\. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -say=āmād yad=dṛishṭv=āpi svavēdyaṁ sumatishu munayō=p=īshṭatēn=ōpadēśaṁ | Traiksh—ālpa-jñā[1] (?)

2\. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - saṁ - - - - - - sukṛitināṁ sva sa yēvas=tad -astu[2] || Prālēy–āchala–sāgar–āmvara–dharān=kṛitya-valād=vo=valān kārāgāra[3]

3\. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - pamēya-charitā Kōkalladēvād-=abhūt= tasmād=vāridhi-vārit-āvanipatiḥ Śrī-Karṇṇa-dēvō=bhavat || Yō mitra-bhṛi[4]-

4\. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - śaḥ āsanna-sa[rvva]kāladaḥ kshiti-bhṛid-varāṇy=amal-uchcha[5]-mastaka-kṛit-ātma-pada-pratishṭhah | [6] Dha[r]mmajñēṇa(na) nakhaḥ purāṇa-charaṇaḥ

5\. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ṭā-bhāsuraḥ Vēda-dhyānta-mukhah sunīti-nayanō hōma-sphurat-kēsarō jīvad=vaḥ kali-kuṁjara-jvara-karaḥ Śrī(śrī)-Karṇṇa[7]

6\. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - iśata p(r)aśāsati mahīṁ Chēd-īndra-chūḍāmaṇau tat-pād-āṁvuja-pūjanē sthiramatir=Vapula-nāmā kṛitī[8] taṁ pūr-vāt=prathitāt piṁḍituvanē hi (?) Jyē - - -

7\. - - - - - val-lakshmyā lakshita-lakshaṇaḥ kshiti-talē lakshē(ai)ka-nām= ābhavat Tasmād=Vijjala-Rāṇakō=ri-gahana-prōddāma-dāvāna-[9]

8\. (la) - - - - - - - - - - - svā bhujō nija-guṇ-ārjita-sādhu-śābdō vīrō vabhūva bhuvi Vigraharāja-nāmā sen-āhava-nihata-vairi-vilāsinī chiram[10]—

9\. - - - - - - - - - - - - ṇa viśrāma-pātram=abhavach=cha sa vīra-lakshaṇaḥ | Vapullak=ēti cha kṛita nija-nāma pitrā yaḥ pūrvva-vīra-sama-vāmana-pa[11]=

10\. - - - - - - - - - - - dvaya ākasmika tataḥ sa cha samuchitā sāndarāṁ | yañ=cheshṭitān[12] | Lōkē Ghōṭaka-vigrah=ēti vi-

11\. - - - - - - - - - - - chaṁdrē tataḥ || Yaḥ Pīta-parvvata-talā[13] samarē dhrit-āsir=jjitvā Trilochana-valaṁ Muni Vījjala-Śrīḥ[14] āvasu-kō

12\. - - - - - - - - - sa kshitm=alakārishṭaḥ[15] sa-sīva[16]-guna-kiraṇa[ḥ] Tarmma-grāmō Kādamvary-ābhidhānē amarapadaṁ kar—āyatanaṁ |

13\. - - - - - - - - - - -sa munibhir=yath-ōkta-vidhinā liṅga pratishṭhāpitaṁ | Yat-prārambha-dinād=anu-pratidinaṁ Śrīḥ putra-pautr-ānugā jātā chaṁ[17]-

14\. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ṇaḥ siva[18] kṛi(?)tē Śrī-Vatsa-nāmā kṛitaṁ | Pārśvē dēvakulī-chatushṭa(ya*)-yutas=tāsu kramād=dēvatāḥ[19] | Iśānē[20]

15\. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -ya Lakshmīs=saṁbhār-āsaṇā[21] || Tasy= ānēka sa tāmrāṁ[22] bahu-vidha-viṭapāṁ cha vāṭikā puratah | Saja

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[1] *Sragdharā.*
[2] Read *sa ēva tad-astu.*
[3] *Śārddūlavikrīdita.*
[4] *Śārddūlavikrīḍita.*
[5] Read *amal-ōchcha.*
[6] *Vasantatilaka.*
[7] *Śārddūlavikrīḍita.*
[8] *Śārddūlavikrīḍita.*
[9] *Śārddūlavikrīḍita.*
[10] *Vasantatilaka.*
[11] *Vasantatilaka.*
[12] Read *Yañ-chēshṭitān.*
[13] Read *talē.*
[14] *Vasantatilaka.*
[15] Read *malakar=ēshṭaḥ.*
[16] Read *Śiva.*
[17] *Śārddūlavikrīdita.*
[18] Read *Śiva.*
[19] *Śārddūlavikrīḍita.*
[20] Read *Īśānē.*
[21] Read *āsanā.*
[22] Read *tāmra.*

16.______________________s=āntaḥpurē sa-suta-bhritya-yutē prasannaḥ bhūyāch=cha kalp-āntam-atulyapuja[1] Śrī-Vapulēśvara iti prathita-Sivō[2]

17. ______________sahitā yady=atra karmmaṇi Sivāya[3] nivēdya -mānē na grāhavit=kvachana kiṁchana kāṁchanaṁ mē puṇyēna tē (?) na-ja-

18.__________________sya paṁch=āyatanaṁ Śivasya Tarmmin[4]= Hṛishīkēśa-sutēna bhaktyā Virū (?)ka-nāmnā rachitā praśastiḥ[5] ||

19.________________ti-prāṇā tasya cha patnī Pravarā nāmnā Nayanāval=īti vikhyātā s=ākārayan=manōjā s-ōmāṁ Māhēśvarīṁ pratimāṁ ||

20.______________dēva-pādānudhyāta saṁvatsara 812 śrīmat-Karṇṇa-prakāśe vyavaharaṇayā navama-samvatsarē Māgha-śudi 10 Gurau

21.______________likhāpitā praśastiḥ || kalpasthāyinī bhavatu ma(ṅ)gala mahā Śrīḥ || ḥ ||

22. Oṁ namō bhagavatē Vāsudēvāya | Oṁ namō Gaṇapatayē ||

Translation.

(L. 1)________________________________ having obtained satisfaction______having also seen—his own knowledge, among people possessing good intelligence, the sages______ good advice ; of Śiva (*Traiksha*)__________

(L. 2) ________________________________ of meritorious people____his own______he himself was________ ______________________ Having made rulers of the earth (which is) clothed with the seas from the Himālaya mountains, helpless with his armies__________

(L. 3)________________________________ of the incomparable character (*i.e.* Gāṅgēyadēva) was born from Kōkalladēva (*i.e.* Kōkalladēva II). (and) from him was born the illustrious Karṇṇadēva, the lord of earth, who was turned back (*i.e.* defeated) only by the sea. Who______________friends and servants.

(L. 4)________________________________ who gave (gifts) at all times______near________the chief among men________who established himself in his (proper) rank by his spotless high head (?)________________by those who had knowledge of the laws (*Dharmma*), in whom there was no sky (?)_____old feet___

(L. 5)________________________________ fierce with matted hair. Let (that) illustrious Karṇṇa live long, who caused fever to the Kali age, which was like an elephant, the hair on whose body was standing on its end on account of the performance of numerous *hōma* ceremonies, whose outlook was just, who read the Vēdas with his mouth______________________ you________

[1] Read *pūjyaḥ*.
[2] Read *Śiva*.
[3] Read *Śivāya*.
[4] Read *Tarmmī*.
[5] *Indravajrā*.

(L. 6)____

when this crest-jewel of the lords of Chēdī was ruling over the earth ___________Vapula, the able, whose mind was fixed in the worship of whose lotus-like feet; him__________known from before________ _________in Piṇḍituvana ________

(L. 7)____

whose (auspicious) signs were indicated by the goddess of fortune, who was known on the earth by the name of one who had only one aim. From him was born Vījjala Rāṇaka, who was like fierce wild fire among his forest-like enemies.

(L. 8)____

arms, who had obtained for himself the epithet "the god" by his own qualities, was born on the earth, by name Vigraharāja, who in battle________the wives of his enemies slain in the battle of armies ________long.

(L. 9)____

who was marked with the signs of a hero, who was the object of trust, was (born), whose name, Vapullaka was given by his father, who________equality with past heroes________

(L. 10)____

two, afterwards sudden ______he also—in the thick_________proper ___________________________ famous in this world as the Battle of Horses________

(L. 11)____

in the moon_______from that_______who held the sword in the valley of the yellow mountain (*Pīta-parvvata*, having conquered the forces of Trilōchana and the goddess of fortune of the ascetic Vījjala. Up to the tenth million________________

(L. 12)____

that village of Tarmma, which has caused the earth to be lowered (*i.e.* which is the best of villages) which is possessed of rays which are qualities causing good (and)________in the subject of the name of the Kādamvarī__________________________________the rank of the immortals______

(L. 13)____

liṅga was dedicated according to the form stated by the sage (Vyāsa). From the first day every day__________the goddess of fortune was obtained in sequence by sons and grandsons________

(L. 14)____

made for Śiva______was made______by name Śrīvatsa, connected with four small temples on sides; in them (were the following) gods; in the north-eastern (side)________

(L. 15)____

Lakshmī with ornaments was placed. He______many different trees and a red villa in front________her________

(L. 16)____

He, being pleased________in the female apartments together with sons and servants_____Let the Śiva known as the illustrious Vapulēśvara be worshipped and peerless till the end of the age_______

(L. 17)____

with_______in this work__________by dedication to Śiva_____ astrologer who is_______gold by my merit_______________ ___________.

(L. 18)____

the five-shrined temple of Śiva. This eulogy was composed with devotion by (a poet) named Virūka, son of Hṛishīkēśa, who was an inhabitant of Tarmma.

(L. 19)____

His wife, whose husband was as dear to her as her life, was by name Pravarā, also famous as Nayanāvalī. She caused to be made (this) beautiful image of Mahēśvara with Umā.

(L. 20)____

who meditated on the feet of (Vāmadēva *i.e.* Śiva), in the year 812, in the ninth year of the public appearance of the illustrious Karṇṇa, according to law, in the month of Māgha, on the tenth day of the bright half, on Thursday.

(L. 21)____

this eulogy was caused to be written. Let it exist up to the end of the ages.

(L. 22)____

Oṁ, salutation to the lord Vāsudēva, Oṁ, salutation to Gaṇapati.

IV. The Rewa Inscription of Malayasiṁha.

Text.

1. Oṁ Svasti || Ashṭāra-chakr-ākṛiti-pūrṇṇa-chandraṁ padmāsanasthaṁ hima-śaila-gauraṁ savy-etarā-pāṇi-ga-khaḍga-pustam=vakshyāmi natvā khalu Maṁjughoshaṁ || (1)[1] Malaya-siṁha-kulāni guṇān=atha sva-samayēna yathōchita[2]-śaktitaḥ avataraṁti padāni yataḥ svataḥ sumaha-

2. tāṁ nanu kena na kīrttyatē || [3] (2) Vāchaś=ch=ē[4]mā pravṛittā mē Ravēr=iva marīchayaḥ | Malaya-siṁha-kulāvja-prabodhāya sahasraśaḥ || (3)[5] Ati-vimala-jal-aughaiḥ plāvayantī pavittrair=munivara-pura-lokāt=saṁstutā

[1] *Indravajrā.*

[2] There is a superfluous superscript *e* in *ya* of *yathā.*

[3] *Drutavilamvita.*

[4] Read *Vāchas-tasmāt.*

[5] *Anushṭubh.*

siddha-gīrbhiḥ | Apanayati suvaṁśāj=jāta-mātrā kumārī kalija-kalusha-bhāraṁ darsa(śa)nān=Narmmadā yā || (4)[1] Tasyās=taṭe=sti Tripurī pur īti tasyām=a-

3. —drit[2]=Karṇṇa-kula-prasūtaḥ | Rājñāṁ guruḥ Śrī-Vijay-ākhya-dēvō rājā viśāstā vidiśān=diśām=vā[3] || (5)[4] Yasya pratāp-ānala-śushka-kaṇṭhā[5] rājñāṁ gaṇā aṁguli-saṁjñay=āpi | s-āśaṁkam=ēvaṁ vivadaṁti chintyaṁ[6] sevā-phalās=tat[7]-sadasi prapannāḥ || (6)[8] Tat-pūrvva-pūrvvā bhuvi yē babhūvus=teshāṁ yaśō-varddhana-mantra-mantrī

4. Śrī-Jāṭa-nāmā vishayē niyuktō Vāchaspatiḥ Indra-grihēr=iv[9]=ābhūt || (7)[10] Dharmma-dhvajānāṁ dhur-amaraṁ[11] gurvvīm=viśrāṇanēn=āvahatō dvijēbhyaḥ Yasy=aiva vāhvor=api paurusheṇa Śrī-Karṇṇa-dēvō jitavān ripūṁś=cha || (8)[12] Tasmād=Gayākarṇṇa-mahīśa-bhaktō mantrasya gōptā bhuvi vandi-jīvaḥ | Jajñe Yaśaḥpāla iti pratītas=Tārātmajaḥ

5. Saumya iv=ēndu-dēvāt || (9)[13] Tasy=ātha puttrō=pi vilōla-vāhuḥ srashṭrā jagad=vīkshya tamō-pirūḍhaṁ | Tad-dyōtanāy=āvayavī śubh-āṁśur=ddīpaḥ prakḷiptaḥ khalu mūrttimān=iva || (10)[14] Padmaṁ hi padmālaya-Padmasiṁhaḥ sat-pāttra-śubhr-āṁkura-śuddha-gottraḥ | Kshattrasya vaṁśe sa nidānavījī Śrī-Chandrasiṁh-āvarajō vijajñe || (11)[15] Sarvattra di-

6. — kshu(ṁmu)kha-visarppi-yaśaḥ prachaṇḍa-Chēd-īndra-rāḍ-Vijaya-siṁha-grih-aika-mantrī | yō vipra-vīryya-vara-dāna-valēna rakshēd=dāridrya -danti-paṭala-dvija-ruddha-dehaṁ || (12)[16] Śrī-Padmasiṁha-vidushō=ttra nitāṁta-vāhuḥ Śrī-Kīrttisiṁha iti siṁha-valī vijajñ[e*] || Ārāti-chakra-hridi śaṁkur=asau viśaṁkō Rāmaḥ purā Daśarathād=iva Kośalēśaḥ

7. || (13)[17] Sadasi yasya hitā vividhā vudhāḥ surapatēr=iva mantra-vidaḥ surāḥ | Suśubhirē śasinaḥ kirihāmiraḥ[18] pratigatā jagatas=tamasaś=chhidē || (14)[19] Sāmanta-maṁḍala-śirōruha-pūnanēna[20] niḥpaṁka-pāda-vanajō Malayānu-siṁhaḥ Śrī-Kīrttisiṁha-tanayaḥ sa babhūva vīraḥ kshāttrasya vaṁśaja-samuddharaṇ-aika-mallaḥ || (15)[21] Vi-

8. dyā-vikāra[22] -kumud-ākara-bōdha-chandrō ratnākarō=rthi-manujēshu[23] cha ratna-dānaiḥ | Sarvvē guṇā Malayasiṁha-narapratishṭhā dōshōpi sō=sya na mrigāṁka-kritō guṇ-āṁkaiḥ || (16)[24] Ārāti-mitra-kamal-augha-vighāta-bodhas=tābhyāṁ dadan=daśa-digamvaram=ujjvalaṁ yaḥ | Śītāṁśur=arkka iva tīkshṇa-suśakti-hasta urvvyām=abhūt=Malayasiṁha iti pra-

9. vīṇaḥ || (17)[25] Āndōlayēd=yasya kripāṇa-vāyur=vvīchīgataṁ bhānum=iv=āmvu-madhyē | Ārāti-senāṁ=avalāṁ valishṭhaḥ sō=bhūd=abhīshṭa-

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1 *Mālinī.*
2 Read-*bhut.*
3 Read *Yah.*
4 *Indravajrā.*
5 Read *kantha.*
6 Read *nityaṁ.*
7 Read *phalaṁ tat.*
8 *Indravajrā.*
9 Read *grihe iva.*
10 *Indravajrā.*
11 Read *dhuram=atra.*
12 *Indravajrā.*
13 *Indravajrā.*
14 *Indravajrā.*
15 *Indravajrā.*
16 *Vasantatilaka.*
17 *Vasantatilaka.*
18 Read *kiraṇāyitah.*
19 *Drutavilamvita.*
20 Read *pūjanena.*
21 *Vasantatilaka.*
22 Read *vikāśa.*
23 Read *ratnākar-ārthi.*
24 *Vasantatilaka.*
25 *Vasantatilaka.*

⏑⏑— -viśuddhaḥ || (18)[1] Āvartta-śuktī harijē samudrē phenaṁ mukhe vardhnia padē=pi vīkshya magn-āri-sēnā na vahir=jjagāma yasy=āśu sō=bhūn=Malayasya siṁhaḥ || (19)[3] Valir=vvī-

10. —raḥ prādā[t]=tripada-nimitaṁ kiṁ tribhuvanaṁ padaṁ dāsyām= īndo ravi-hara-har-īndr-ādishu nṛiṇāṁ | Ahaṁ jitvā tēbhyaḥ sapadi karavālēna cha vahū ⏑ yaḥ sākaṁ v=ēti vyavasita-valō yaḥ sa jayatu || (20)[4] Yasy= āri-sāmanta-śirō-visarppī rakt-āksha-dīpt-āsi-śikhā-kṛiśāṇuḥ sa prāpa tāvat= tu raṇe=ttra tṛiptiṁ Laṁkāṁ

11. hi dagdhv=āpi na mārutēr=yā || (21)[5] Turāsāhaṁ jitvā śasinam=api dēv-ānala-mukhē mahādēvī-Śachyā vicharati mṛigāṁkas=tribhuvanē | Ahō tēshāṁ prāgāt=bhujaga-pati-Śēshō vilasituṁ pṛithivyāṁ dēvō=yaṁ janapada-janair=ukta iti yaḥ || (22)[6] Kāmaṁ yath=āgnir=bhava-nētra-janmā krōdhātmakaḥ śatru-valaṁ dudōha | Vaidhavya-

12. —duḥkh-ēndhana-dīrgha-vāshpaiḥ saṁdhukshitō yat-prati-kūla-vadhva[ḥ] || (23)[7] Sadlakshaṇō nirggata-lakshaṇō=bhavat su-Karkkareḍyām= api yō raṇe yadā vilūṇa-vāhu-vyasanaḥ śilīmukhaiḥ karād=vimuktair=Mmalayasya siṁhajāt || (24)[8] Rē rē vikrama-śūra dhāvasi vṛithā m-āvāpa vān-aṁbhasi magnō yāsyasi n=ā[9]

13. tra kiṁ tava kṛitē khaḍg-āgnim=ujālaṁyē[10] | Ity=aṁkk-ābhi hatō raṇē nava-daśa-sthāneshu vāṇair=hṛidi pāto vaḥ paribhūta-vikrama-valō yasmāt sa jīyād=iti || (25)[11] Prāsāda-mālā dvija-devatānāṁ sṛishṭā vichitrā gaganaṁ[12] vilamvā | Yen=āpi yābhy=astv=avarōdha-bhītyā yāt-īva Bhāno= ratha esha tiyaka[13] || (26)[14] Tīvraṁ tapō duḥkha-karaṁ prakṛi-

14. tya Siddhā vrajaṁtō divam=ūrddhvam=uchchaiḥ Yad=Rāma-dēvālayavādhita[15] yē prāyēna tē viśva-padaṁ prayātāḥ || (27)[16] Y=ōyaṁ sutas= Tālhaṇa-dēvi-devyās=trāyēta mitrāṇi nihanti śatrūn Bhīshmo yath=ānēka-samānuvarttī jīvāt=sa pṛithvīdhara-sānuj=ōpi || (28)[17] Śri-Gargga-nāmā ruchirāma-dhāmā yasy=ābhavach=chhrī-Raṇasiṁha-sūnuḥ | Dharmmasya vidyā hayakośa-lē-

15. —khī sarvvādhikārair=iva Chitraguptaḥ || (29)[18] Tāmbula-dān-ādhikṛitiprayuktaḥ Śrīmaj-Jagat-siṁha-sutaḥ sumantrī | yasy=ābhavach=chhrī-Harisiṁha-ṇāmā sarvv-ārthi-saṁpad-pari-pūrit-āśaḥ || (30)[19] Prauḍha-prachaṇḍ-āri-kari-pramāthī nārācha-pāś-āṅkuśa-khaḍga-yoddhā | vāhu-praśakty= āti-dṛiḍha-prahāraḥ sēn-āgra-yāyī=va raṇē Kumāraḥ || (31)[20] Brahmaṇō

16. —Śāna-vādinā vēda-tat-pārtha[21]-yoginā nistīrṇṇāni pāshaṇḍāni vatra mīṇavakair=api || (32)[22] Sa soma-śyēn-āgnīn=nayati chayanāṁta-dvijagaṇō mahīṁ kṛitvā yūpai=ravikara-chashāl-ōrddha-kaṭakaṁ | tatō vēdi-

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[1] *Upendravajrā.*
[2] Read *mūrdhni.*
[3] *Upendravajrā.*
[4] *Śikhariṇī.*
[5] *Indravajrā.*
[6] *Śikhariṇī.*
[7] *Indravajrā.*
[8] *Vaṁśastha.*
[9] The punctuation mark is superfluous.
[10] Read *ujjvālaye.*
[11] *Śarddūlavikrīḍita.*
[12] Read *gagan*[illegible].
[13] Read *tiryak.*
[14] *Indravajrā.*
[15] Read *vanditā.*
[16] *Indravajrā.*
[17] *Indravajrā.*
[18] *Indravajrā.*
[19] *Indravajrā.*
[20] *Indravajrā.*
[21] Read *tatv-ārtha.*
[22] *Anushtubh.*

śrōṇīṁ vidhi-vihina[1]-mantraiḥ kṛita-giraṁ vasanya=smiṁs=tishṭhan=nu puram =iha Kāsṭhālakam=iti

17. ¦ (33)[2] Bhuktv=āpi yasmin=varapāṇi-pātrē chakrās=tu naktaṁ sva-vadhūr=vvihāya | Ambhō nirīkshy-āhata-jīva-saṁghās=tīvraṁ tapō vā muna-yaś=charaṁti ¦ (34)[3] Tigmāṁśu-tāpa-klaman-ōda-dakshai rukshāṁ vichakru= striya ātmanō=ṁgē prāṇēśa-hasta-pratikḷipta-yantra-nirmmukta-dhār[ā] pa-yasāṁ kal(kil)=aughaiḥ ¦¦ (35)[4] Pītv=āli-chakrair=mmadhu-

18. —matta-muktai[ḥ] padm-ākar-ālīḍha-mukhair=nnadadbhiḥ | Ākarṇ-ṇya mugdhā anujā(gā)payanti gītaṁ yaśō yasya cha nāga-kanyāḥ ¦ (36)[5] Sēvāla[6]-kalhāraka-vāri-parṇṇī-sālūka-saṁghāṭa-kar=ēva-māshair=[7] bhbhak-shair=abhakshair=yutam=amvu-vījair=vvapraiḥ sasarjj=ārthi-saro ya īdṛik ¦¦ (37)[8] Krīḍā pravṛittāḥ patibhiḥ śar-orvvau[9] svayaṁ mṛi

19. ch=ābhūt[10] katham=āsthitānāṁ | tāsāṁ bhruvō=ṁgāni kuchōru-jaṁghā drishṭy-āksha-sūtrāṇy=apatan munīnāṁ ¦ (38)[11] Yasmiṁs=tīre marakata-śilā-ratnavaddh-āsanasthair=vvīchī-lōlā rajata-śapharī-vaṁchit-ōru-pradēśaiḥ | viprais =tṛiptā amara-pitaraḥ sapta-divyā[12]-manushyā āśaṁsaṁti prathi[ta]-

20. yaśasaṁ yaṁ sa jīyād=bhuv=īti ¦ (39)[13] Divy-āṁgan-āṁga-nava-kuṁ-kuma-paṁka-piṁga[ṁ] vāri-prapūra-lava-chittrita-rōma-mālāḥ | Krīḍaṁti yatra sukhinō bhuvi rājahaṁsā aṁbhō-nidhānam=atalaṁ praśa(sa)raḥ sasar-jja ¦¦ (40)[14] Etad-aṁbhō-nidhānāya śatāni daśapañcha cha ¦ * Bhagavan=mudrayā yē=pi ṭaṁkakānāṁ vya-

21. yē=karōt ¦ (41)[15] Sarvv-ārtha-sārthais=stutijair=vvachōbhir=vvaṁdī-janaiḥ saṁstuta ēva yē=bhūt | Siddhārtha-yōgī Malayānu-siṁha[ḥ] svasmai[16] bhavēyuḥ śubhadās=tridevāḥ ¦ (42) Vāstavya-vṛitti-pratham-aika-liṁgaṁ nāmn=āpy=abhūd=Uddharaṇō vipaśchit | uddhṛitya mahyāṁ amṛitaṁ gṛihī-tuṁ lōk-aika-nāth=ōtha yath=ēsa-mūrttiḥ ¦¦ (43)[17]

22. Tasy=ātha putraḥ pramad-ābhirāmō yushṭaḥ śriyā Śrīdhara-mūrttir= āsīt | yēn=āvanī sarvva-guṇā guṇ-aughaiḥ puṇyair=anēkaiś=cha kṛitā pavitrā ¦ (44)[18] Tasy=āpi sūnur=bhuvi Ṭhakkurō yō Lakshmīdharō Lakshaṇa-kāvya-vēttā Vidyādharas=tasya babhūva=puttraḥ sarvvādhikār-ārtha-guṇa-pravī-ṇaḥ ¦ (45)[19] Artha-trayāṇāṁ

23. =m[20]-api tatva-yuktaḥ Kāmasya sārēṇa tu kiṁchid=ēva Vidyā-dharō=th=āsya śarō-dhikarttā[21] hetur=yathārthaḥ Sagaro babhūva ¦¦ (46)[22] Śaraḥśaṁkhyābane vidvān=vāstavyaḥ Purushōttamaḥ | Śrīmad=Valhaṇa-putrō=bhūd=āchārya-Śrīdharō yathā ¦ (47)[23] Pañcha-kratūnām=api yaś=cha karttā Śrī-Rāmchandrō=tha babhūva vidvān | tasy=ātha pu-

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1 Read *vihita*.
2 *Śikhariṇī*.
3 *Indravajrā*.
4 *Indravajrā*.
5 *Indravajrā*.
6 Read *śaivāla*.
7 Read *saṁghāṭaka-evam-ādyair*.
8 *Indravajrā*.
9 Read *śar-ormmau*.
10 Read *śaṁyamya chāsan*.
11 *Indravajrā*.
12 Read *dēva*.
13 *Mandākrāntā*.
14 *Vasantatilaka*.
15 *Anushṭubh*.
16 Read *tasmai*.
17 *Indravajrā*.
18 *Indravajrā*.
19 *Indravajrā*.
20 This *ma* is superfluous.
21 Read *sarōdhikarttā*.
22 *Indravajrā*.
23 *Anushṭubh*.

24. —tro=pi Divākar-ākhyaḥ sarvvajña-kalpō dvija-mukhya ēva ¦¦ (48)[1] Tasy=ātha putrō guru-bhakti-chittō daivāch=chhriyā yaḥ parihīna-jātaḥ | Ātrēya-gōtrō nanu Krishṇa-pūrvvaḥ Kāśī-nivāsī cha parōpakārī ¦ (49)[2] Tarkkē jñānam=atīva yasya chaturaḥ śabd-ārtha-śāstrē tathā mīmāṁs-ādhi-gatō vipaśchid=abhavad=vēdāṁ—

25. ta-yōg-ādi-dhīḥ | Vēd-ābhyāsa-rataḥ sadā suvidushāṁ mūrdhṇi pravaddh-āṁjaliḥ=vipraḥ Śrī-Purushōttamō bhuvi mahān=buddhyā cha vāchaspatiḥ ¦¦ (50)[3] Tēn=ēyam=isht-āṁga-suvṛitta-vṛittā hārasya yashṭiś=cha sadartha-guchchhā sad-vaṁśa-muktā-phala-kīrtti-sūtrā śastā praśāstiḥ suvinirmmit=ēva ¦¦ (51)[4] Utkīrṇṇā Sūtra-

26. —dhāreṇa Śrīmad-Gālhaṇa-sūnunā | nāmn=Ānaṁtēna handrēr-yāḥ[5] śuddh=ēyaṁ vaṁśa-paddhatiḥ ¦¦ (52)[6] Chatvāriṁśaty-adhikē=vdē chaturbhir=nnavamē śatē | śukrē Sāhasa-mall-āṁkē Nābhasye prathamē dinē ¦¦ (53)[7] Saṁvat 944 Bhādrapada sudi 1 Śukrē Śrīmad-Vijayasiṁhadēva-rājyē — Maṁ-

27. galaṁ mahāśrīḥ ¦¦ O ¦¦ Śrīḥ ¦¦ Dauvārya-kārya-kshama-Ratna[p ?]-ākhyō yasy=ābhavad=Dalha-suta ⌣ vīraḥ | Dvār=īva Naṁdī Giriśasya yuktaḥ saṁgrāma-sū(śū)rō ripu-darppa-marddī ¦¦ (54)[8]

Translation.

Om Benediction! Having bowed to Mañjughosha, who is as white as the snowy mountain (Himālaya), who is as the full moon, (round in shape), as the wheel of eight spokes, who is (seated) on a lotus throne, in whose right hand is a sword (*khadga*) and in whose left a book (*pusta*), I shall speak of the family (*kula*), as well as the qualities, of Malayasiṁha, in proper time with necessary vigour, where the parts of verses appear of their own accord. Who cannot describe the fame of the great (1-2) ?

As the rays of the sun (are engaged in opening lotus flowers) so, this my voice, is engaged in opening the lotus of the family of Malayasiṁha (3).

That Narmmadā, which flows with sacred, very pure masses of water, from the abode of the chief of the Munis (*i.e.* *Amarakaṇṭaka*), like a virgin born of a good family, removes the weight of sins due to the Kali age, by sight only (4).

On her bank is a city named Tripurī, where (is) a king named the illustrious Vijayadēva, born of the famed family of Karṇṇa, who is the ruler of all the different points of the horizon (5).

In whose assembly, kings, whose throats were parched on account of the fire of his power, whose only object was (his) service (*i.e.* to render service to him), sitting in his court, always spoke by signalling with fingers, out of fear (for him) (6).

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1 *Indravajrā.*
2 *Indravajrā.*
3 *Śarddūlavikrīḍita.*
4 *Indravajrā.*
5 Read *Chandriyā.*
6 *Anushṭubh.*
7 *Anushṭubh.*
8 *Indravajrā.*

The illustrious Jāṭa was the adviser of his predecessors, who had been in this world, in the incantation for increasing their fame, in (this) district (*vishaya*) as Bṛihaspati is in the house of Indra (7).

Who was carrying great weight among the religious by gifts to the twice-born; also by the valour of whose arms the illustrious Karṇṇadeva had vanquished his foes (8).

From him was born (a son) known as Yaśaḥpāla, as was born the son of Sōma (*Budha*), the son of Tārā, from the Moon god,. who was a devotee of the lord of earth Gayākarṇṇa, (and) who was worshipped of all beings in this world and the keeper of counsels (9).

Then was born his son, Padmasiṁha, with moving arms, (who was) the moon personified, whose family was of good origin (*aṅkura*) and consisted of good members (*pātra*), who was the progenitor of a royal line and who was the younger brother of Chandrasiṁha (10-11); Brahman having seen the world covered with the darkness (of ignorance) (created him as it were) for its illumination.

He, who by force of the boon bestowed by the chief of Brāhmaṇas, protects the bodies of the twice-born, besieged by the masses of the elephants of poverty, was the only minister in the palace of the chief king among the lords of Chēdī, the powerful Vijayasiṁha, whose fame is everywhere spreading to the cardinal points (12).

In this family was born the illustrious Kīrttisiṁha from the illustrious Padmasiṁha; who, possessed of long arms, was as powerful as an elephant. (He being like) a wedge in the hearts of (his) enemies (and) fearless, (was born) as in the olden days, Rāma, the lord of Kośala, (was) from Daśaratha (13).

Whose court was adorned with various learned men, who were (his) well wishers and who were like the gods, who had knowledge of incantations (*mantras*) in the assembly of Indra, and (who were also) like the rays of the moon spread for dispelling the darkness (of ignorance) of the world (14).

Malayasiṁha, the valourous, the son of the illustrious Kīrttisiṁha, was (born), whose lotus like feet became free from mud on account of their worship with the heads of the assembly of feudatories. He was the peerless wrestler in the saving of people born in royal families (15).

He was the cause of the spread of learning, as the moon causes Kumuda flowers to open, who had become the sea (the mine of jewels), by giving jewels to needy men. All qualities had become established in Malayasiṁha, in whom, on account of his qualities, the deermark, (also known as the *kalaṁka i.e.* faults) of the moon, did not exist (16).

Who was like the moon in causing prosperity to friends (as the moon opens lotus flowers) and the sun in killing enemies (as the sun dries up lotus flowers) and by giving them (friendship or enmity) he made the skies of the ten points bright; with a sharp sword in his hands, Malayasiṁha, the able, was (born) on the earth (17).

The wind caused by the movements of whose sword caused the trembling of the forces of (his) enemies, just as (the reflection) of the sun amidst waves in water. He, the strong, was——————————in the feet of good (?) (18).

The armies of his enemies, drowned in the sea of his horsemen, whose horses had foam in their mouths, just as the sea has foam (at its ends *i.e.* on breakers) and who had whorls and other marks on their foreheads, just as the sea possesses whirlpools and oysters, seeing these never came out (of it). He is (*i.e.* such was) the lion of Malaya (19).

What great gift the valiant Bali had given in giving the three worlds for the three steps of Vishṇu ? I shall give the ranks of the Moon, Hara, Hari, Indra and Brahman by conquering from them by the sword quickly, or I shall, give them———. Let him (who says so), with the active army, be victorious (20).

In this battle, he, who was like fire from the edge of the sword, brightened by the red eyes in the heads of the feudatories of his enemies, obtained (such) satisfaction as the son of the wind (*Hanumat*) himself did not obtain by burning Laṅkā (21).

In the mouth of the gods (*i.e.* fire *i.e.* in performing sacrifices) having defeated Indra, (and) in their earth this (Malayasiṁha) is called by citizens—————Śesha, the King of Snakes, (and) the Moon with the queen Śachī (being expelled from heaven), travel in the three worlds (22).

As the fire born in the eyes of Śiva burnt Kāma, so the fire of his anger burnt the armies of his enemies. The fire was strengthened by the fuel consisting of the tears of sorrow on account of widowhood of the wives of his enemies (23).

In war, in Karkkaredī, he, Salakshaṇa (who was possessed of all the auspicious signs) was bereft of any auspicious signs, having had the misfortune of (having) his arms cut off by the *śilīmukha* arrow discharged by the hand belonging to the lion of Malaya (24).

Let him, your saviour, obtain long life, (who said to Vikramāditya), having wounded him slightly in nine or ten places in the heart, in battle, on account of which he became without valour or power, " O valiant Vikrama ! you are running in vain, having been sunk in the ocean of (my) arrows, you will not go out. What is the use of my taking out my sword for you ? " (25).

By whom palaces of gods and the twice-born were built, beautiful and as high as the sky ; on account of the fear of obstruction (by them) the wheel of the chariot of the sun goes untouched (with difficulty) (26).

Siddhas go to high heaven, having performed fierce painful austerities, (but) those who worship at the shrine of Rāma, built by him (Malayasiṁha) they mostly obtain the feet of God, (without endeavour) (27).

Let him, the king, obtain long life, who was the son of the lady Tālhaṇadēvī who saves friends and kills enemies, who was like Bhīshma (who lived for many years) with many equals and with relations (or younger brothers) (28).

Like Chittragupta, whose (Malayasiṁha's) writer of legal affairs (*dharmma*), education (*vidyā*), horses (*haya*), treasury (*kōśa*) and with supreme power (*i.e.*

chief officer) was of the name of Śrī-Gargga, son of the illustrious Ranasiṁha who was possessed of adequate and excellent qualities (29).

Whose (Malayasiṁha's) minister was of the name of the illustrious Harisiṁha, who had been employed as the distributor of betel leaves (in court or Durbar), who was the son of the illustrious Jagatsiṁha and who had fulfilled the wishes of all claimants for charity, with wealth (30).

Who (Harisiṁha) was the punisher of the great and fierce elephants of (his enemies), who fought with *nārācha* arrows, noose (? a lassoe), an elephant-goad and sword; the blows of whose arms were very heavy, (and) who was the foremost of the army in battle like Kumāra (Kārttikēya) (31).

Where unbelievers were driven out by ordinary persons who were worshippers of Brahman and Īśāna, who had knowledge of the inner meaning of the Vēdas (32).

Living where, the twice-born versed in sacrifices, having made the earth full of sacrificial posts with the rays of the sun as the round wooden rings (*chashāla*) on their tops (*i.e.* filled the earth with sacrifices) (and) afterwards while reciting spells laid down by law (*vidhi*) brought the fires with *sōma* and hawk shaped vessels to the hiplike side of the sacrificial altar (*i.e.* performed the *Sōma Yajña* (33).

Where the Chakravāka birds also, who without killing (other) groups of beings, pained with looking at the water (constantly), having fed out of excellent vessels formed of their palms, (and) having left their mates at night, performed fierce austerities, like Munis (34).

(Where) women sprinkled their bodies with the flows of streams of water, issuing from machines from the palms of their husbands, which (flow) was skilled in removing the fatigue caused by the heat of the sun (35).

Having heard songs of his fame sung by droning bees, with drunken mouths, having drunk honey and with their mouths set in the calyx of lotus flowers, (one thinks that) infatuated Nāga damsels are singing (his praise) (36).

Who created this tank with (? masonry) banks, with aquatic animals, with edible and inedible, water moss (*śaivāla*), the white water lily (*kalhāra*), water plants (*vāri-parṇi*), lotus roots (*sālūka*) etc. (37).

On the surface of the tank, women engaged in playing in with their husbands, remained discreet (*saṁyaṁya*) (and) having seen their bodies, eye-brows breasts and thighs the rosaries of sages fell down (38).

On whose banks, the gods, the manes (*pitṛis*), the seven Ṛishis, men, pleased by Vipras, seated on its banks on seats built of green stones, with their thighs touched by silvery *sapharī* fishes, on the movement of waves, praised him, whose fame was well known: let him (Malayasiṁha) live long on the earth (39).

(He) created this fathomless tank, the receptacle of water, where in the world, geese being happy, with their feathers coloured with the spray of waves yellow with the paste of fresh saffron from the bodies of beautiful women, disported (40).

Who spent fifteen hundred *ṭaṅkakas* (? silver coins) stamped with the effigy of the lord (*Bhagavat i.e.* Buddha) for the excavation of this reservoir of water (41).

He, Malayānusiṁha, the ascetic, who had obtained fulfilment (of desires) was praised by singers in words born of praise, which contained all manner of things. Let all gods be propitious to him (42).

Then, there was a learned man, name Uddharaṇa, who like Īśa (Śiva), the unequalled lord of the people, who having dug the earth for the sake of nectar, which was the foremost means of maintaining lives of men, became indeed the deliverer (*uddharaṇa*) (43).

Afterwards was (born) his son Śrīdhara who was agreeable to ladies, who possessed the goddess of fortune and was like Vishṇu (Śrīdhara) in appearance, by whom, with his collection of good qualities, the world made pure and possessed of many good qualities (44).

His son was Lakshmīdhara, who was versed in symbolism and poetry (and) who was a lord on the earth. His son was Vidyādhara who was versed in the qualities required in chief officers (45).

Vidyādhara, the cause as well as the supervisor of the tank, who was versed in the meaning of the three aims (*dharmma, artha* and *moksha*) and little of the essence of Kāma, became in reality Sagara (who was the cause of the bringing of Ganges in the earth) (46).

Living in Śarahśaṁkhyābana like Āchārya Śrīdhara, was the well known the learned, the son of the illustrious Vālhaṇa, Purushōttama (47).

(? His son) was the learned, the performer of the five sacrifices, Rāmachandra. His son was Divākara by name, the foremost among the twice-born, almost equal to the omniscient (48).

Then his son, whose mind was centred in devotion to his spiritual preceptor, born in the race of Atri, before whom Kṛishṇa was born, who was born separated from the goddess of fortune by accident, whose knowledge of logic was profound, as well as in Lexicography, (who was) clever, as well as conversant with the *mīmāṁsā* learning, engaged in reading the Vēdas, who was strong in Vedānta and Yōga, (who caused) the hands of the learned, which were clasped together, to be raised to their heads (*i.e.* who was always saluted by the learned), (and) who was equal to Vāchaspati in intelligence, was born Purushōttama, the great twice-born on the earth (49-50).

By him this cluster of good descriptions, two sides (? *yashṭi*) of this garland of good metres and well meant words, similes etc., this thread of fame of the pearl-like members of a good family, this eulogium was well composed (51).

This family description of the lunar race (?) was written by the mason Ananta, the son of the illustrious Gālhaṇa(52).

In the year forty increased by four over nine hundred, named *Sāhasamalla* year, on the first day of Nābhasya (Bhādrapada) on Friday (53).

In the year 944 on the first day of the bright half of Bhādrapada, on Friday, in the reign of the illustrious Vijayasiṁha.

Whose (Malayasiṁha's) gate-keeper was named Ratnākara, the valiant, the son of Dālha, who was skilled in performing the duties of a doorkeeper who was valiant in battle (and) who was the destroyer of the pride of enemies, as Nandi was of Siva (54).

V. Vaidyanātha Temple Inscription at Bheraghat.

Text.

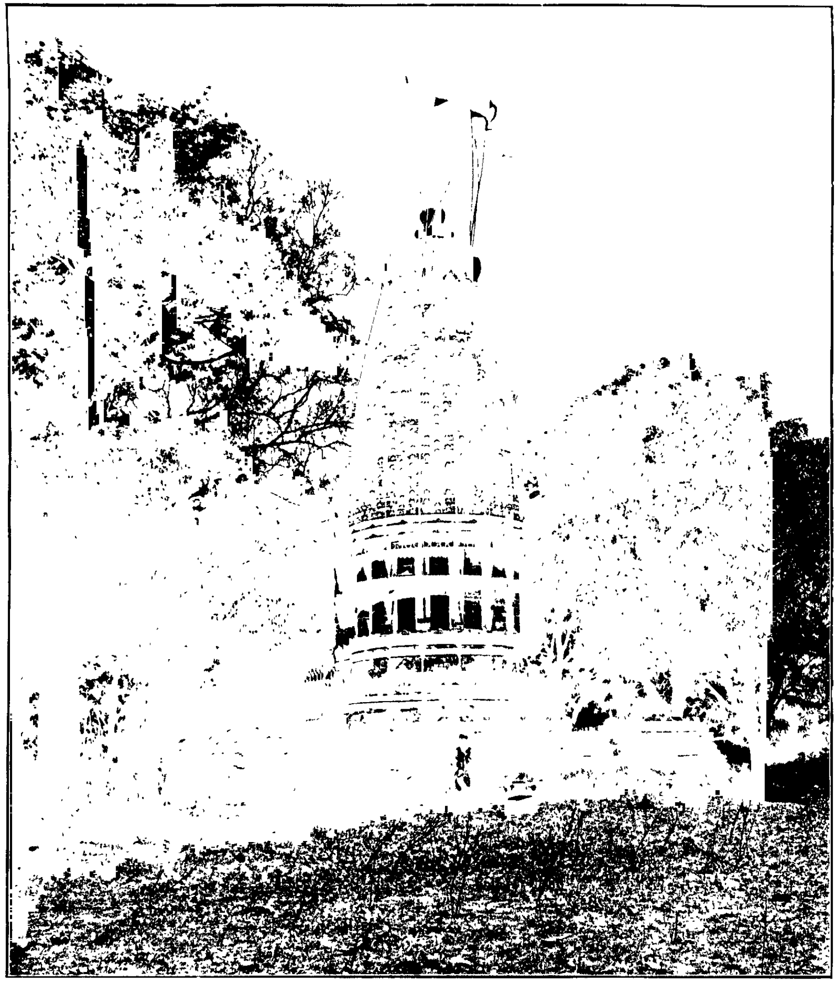
1 Mahārājñī Śrī mad-Gosalādēvī [Mahārā]
2 —ja-śrīmad-Vijayasiṁhadēva————[Śrīma]
3 d=Ajayasiṁhadēvēn=edaṁ (?) Śrī [Vaidya(?)nātha-charaṇaṁ]
4 nityaṁ praṇamati

Translation.

"The great Queen the illustrious Gosalādēvī, the illustrious Mahārāja Vijayasiṁha,————by the illustrious Ajayasiṁha, salute daily the feet of this illustrious Vaidyanātha.

INDEX.

MGIPC—M—III-9-79—18-8-31—500.



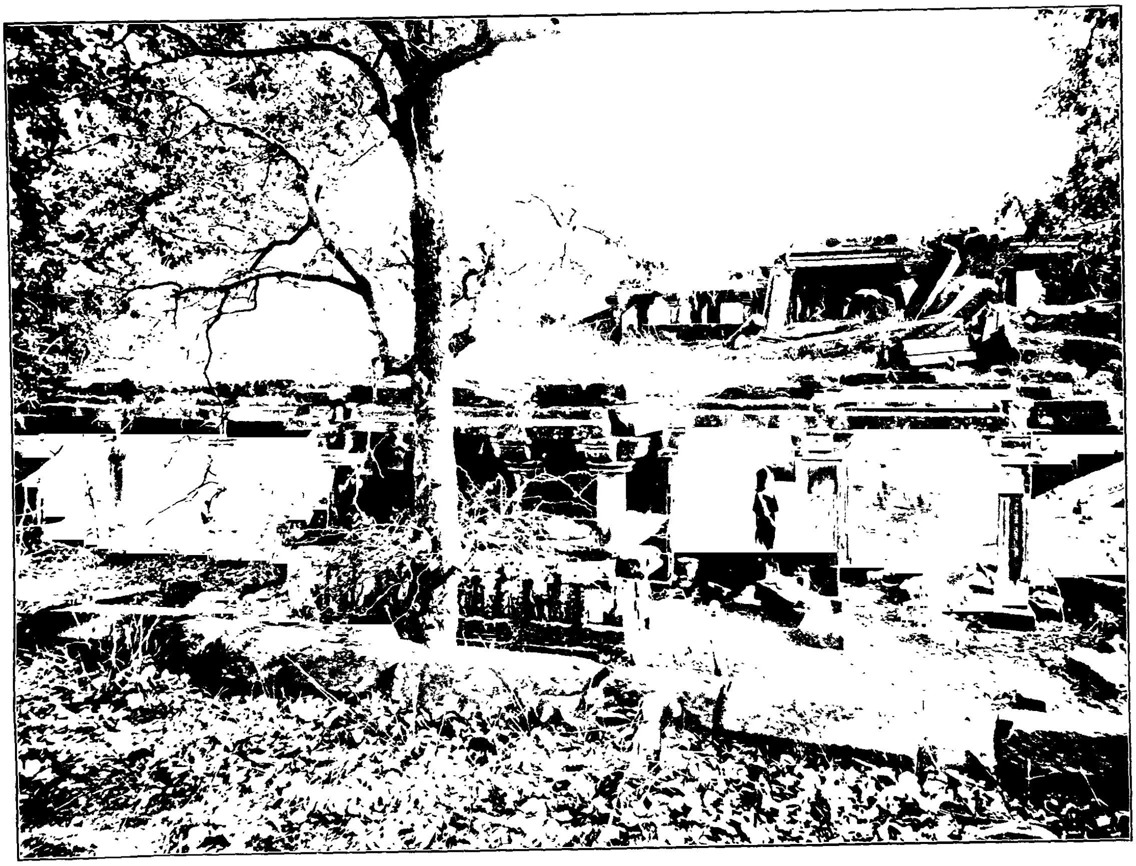
(a) BACK.



(b) FRONT.

TEMPLE OF SIVA AT CHANDREHI

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1921



(a) FRONT.



(b) SIDE

SAIVA MONASTERY AT CHANDREHI.

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 192[illegible]

PLATE III.



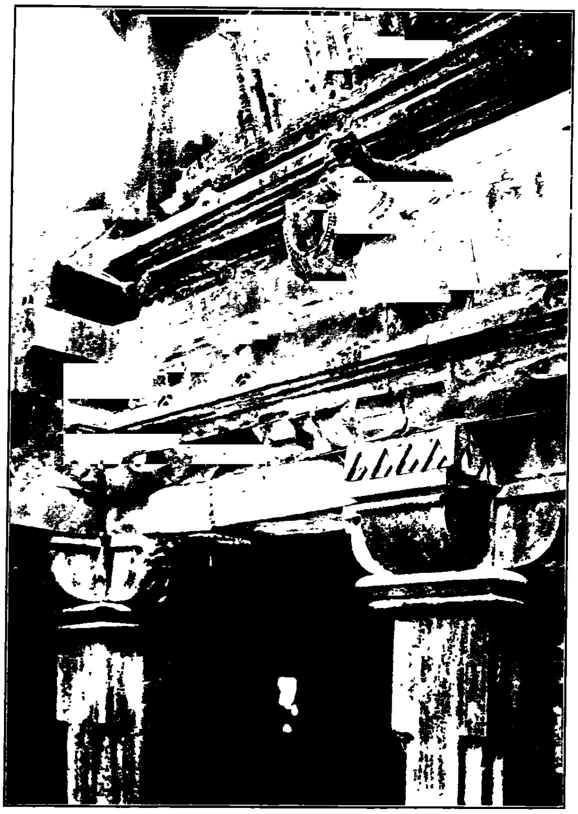
(a)



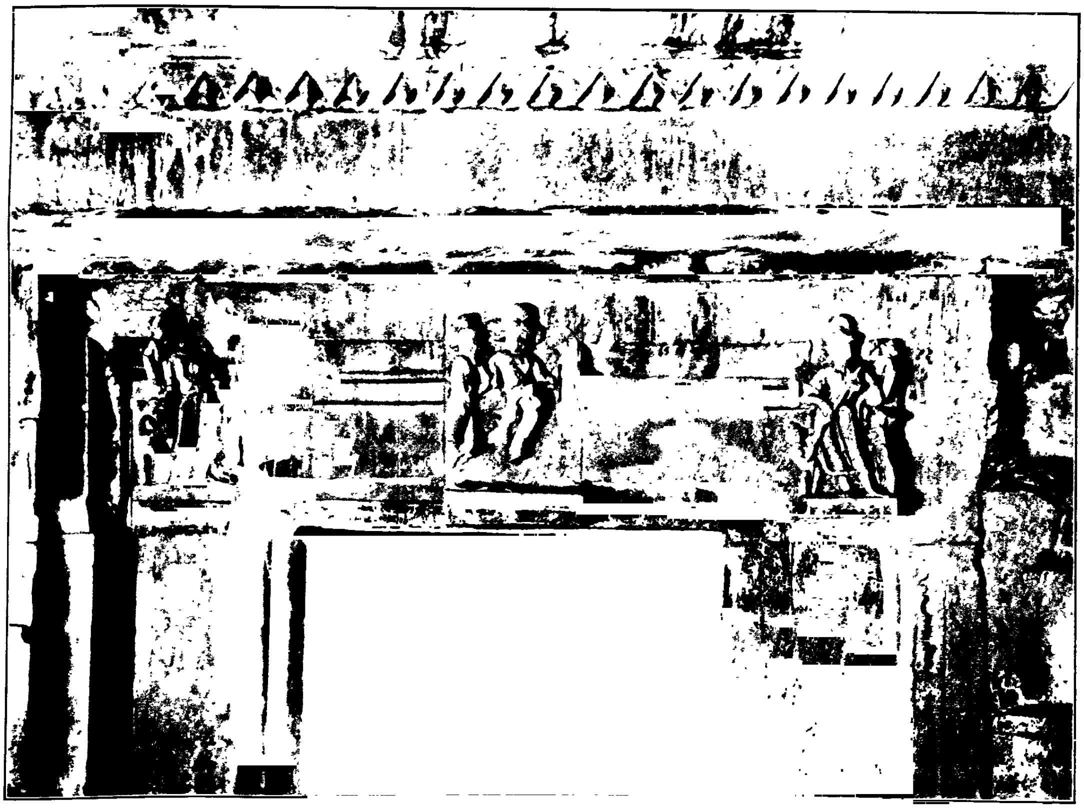
(b)

SAIVA MONASTERY AT CHANDREHI, DOORWAYS OF SHRINES.

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India Calcutta 1931



(a) GARGOYLE.

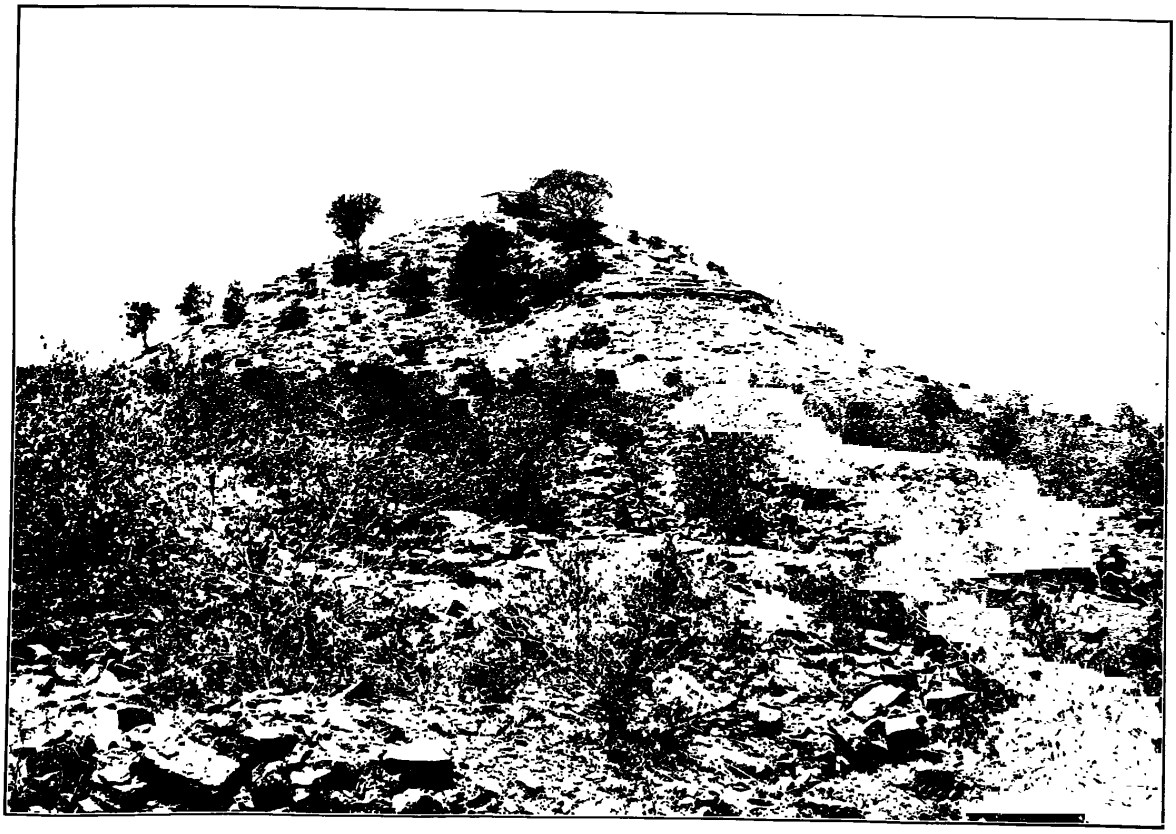


(b) DOORWAY OF SHRINE.
SAIVA MONASTERY AT CHANDREHI.

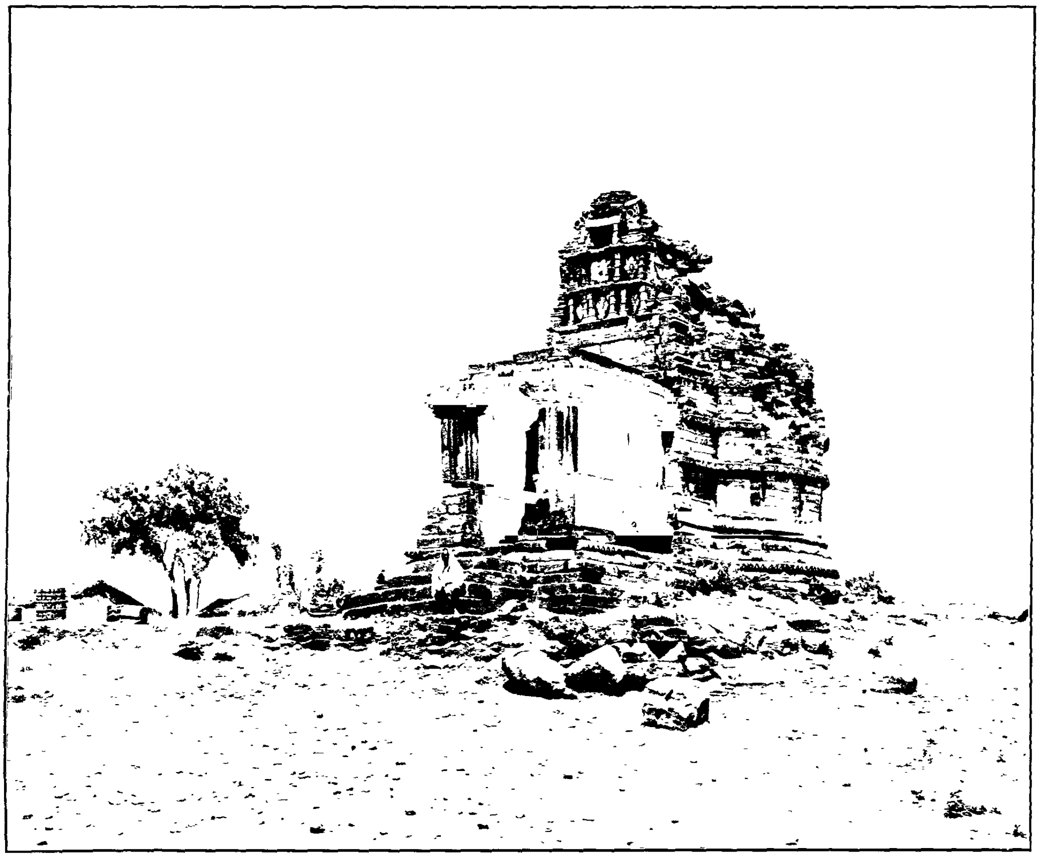
Photo-engraved & printed at the offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta



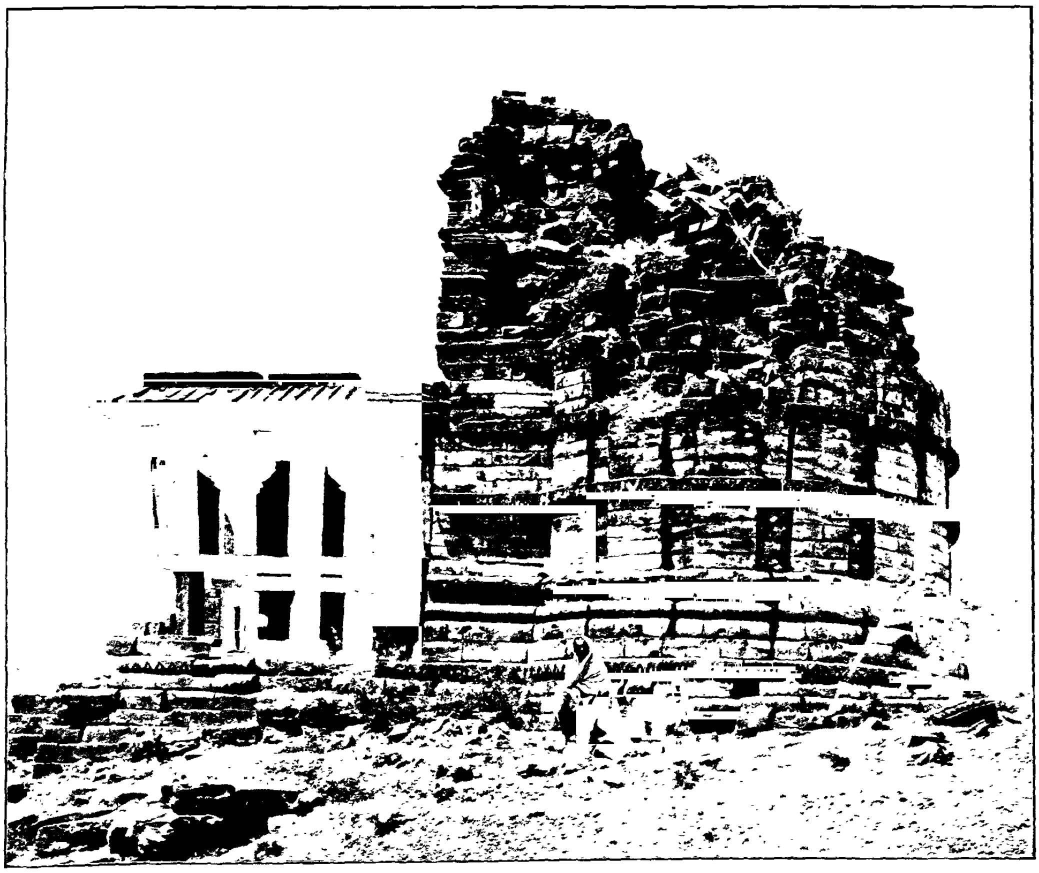
(a) WALL OF REHUTA FORT, FORMERLY A SAIVA MONASTERY AT GURGI.



(b) GURGAJ MOUND, RUINS OF TEMPLE OF SIVA BUILT BY YUVARAJA I.

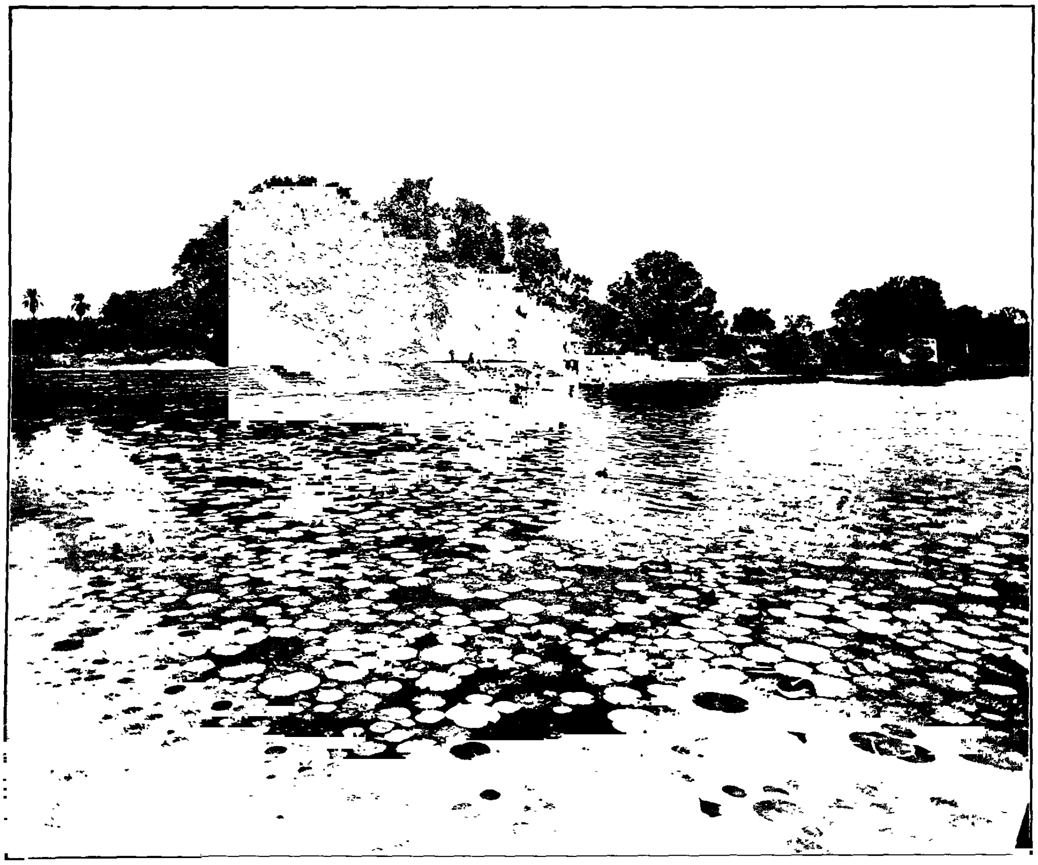


(a) FRONT.

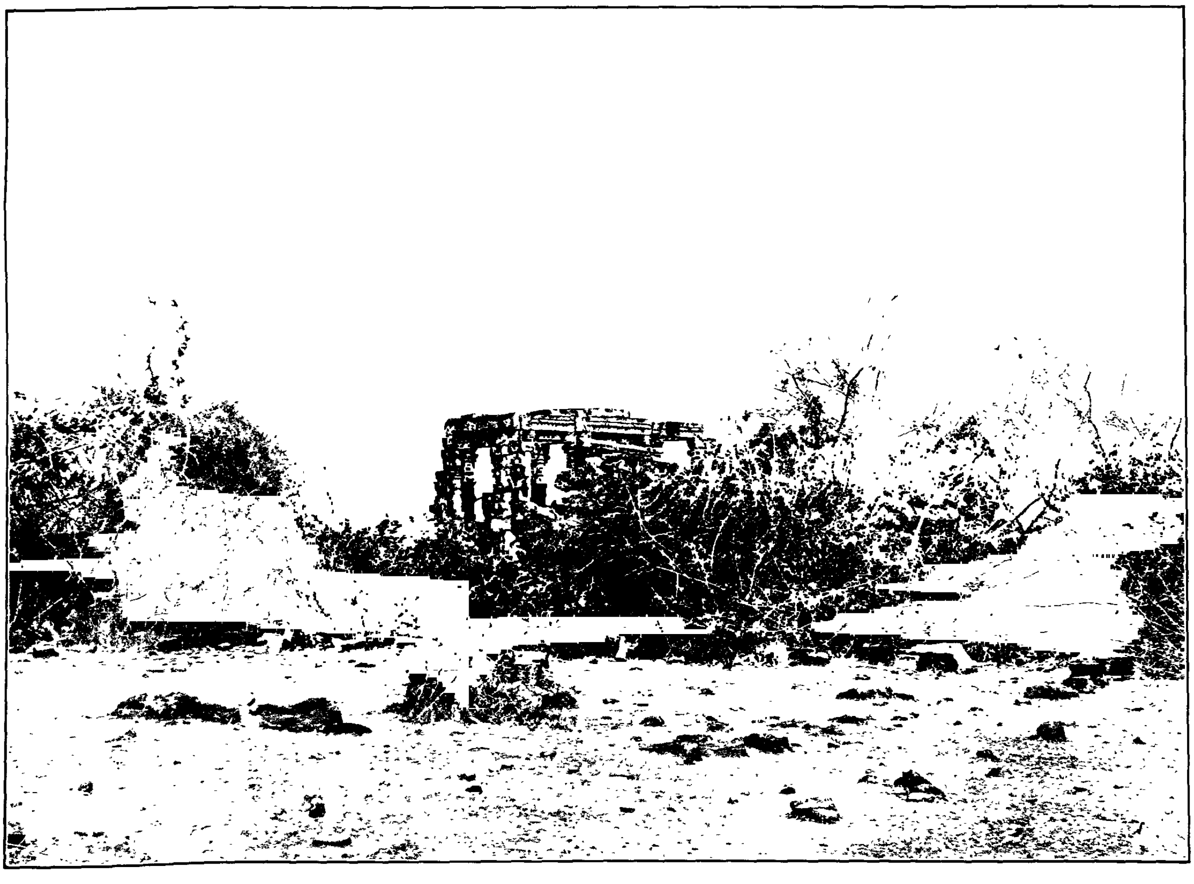


(b) BACK.

TEMPLE OF SIVA AT MASAUN.

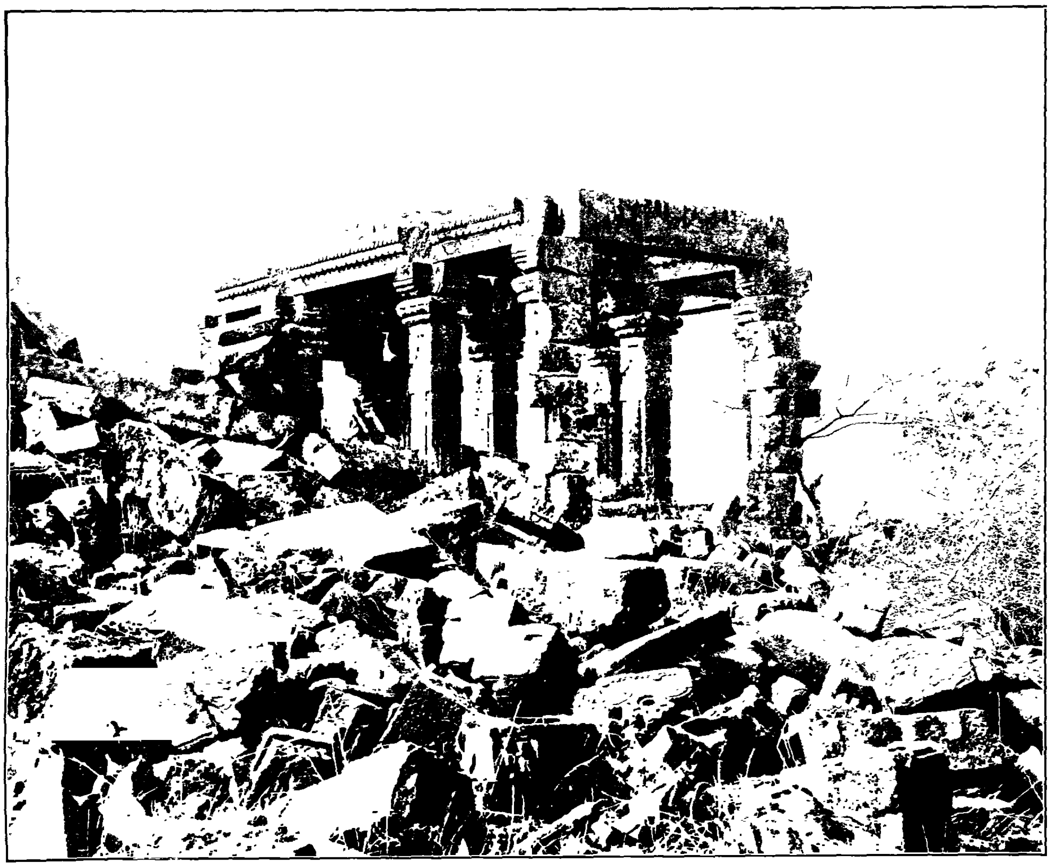


(a) LAKSHMANASAGAR TANK.



(b) TEMPLE OF KAMAKANDALA, BILHARI.

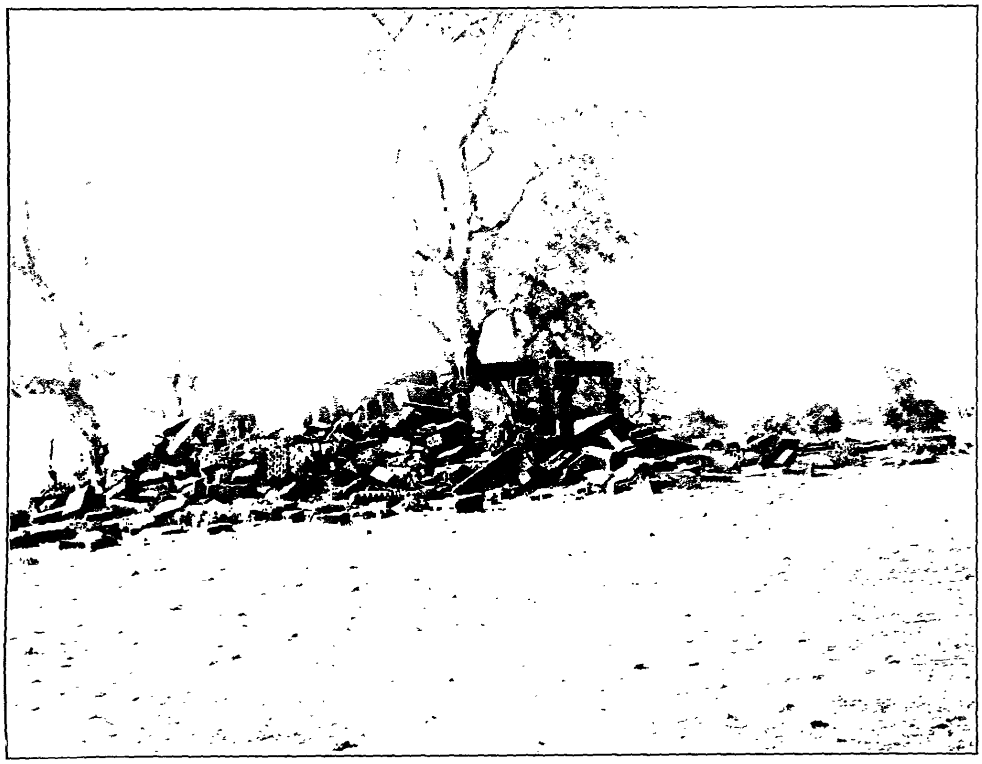
Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1921



(a) MANDAPA.



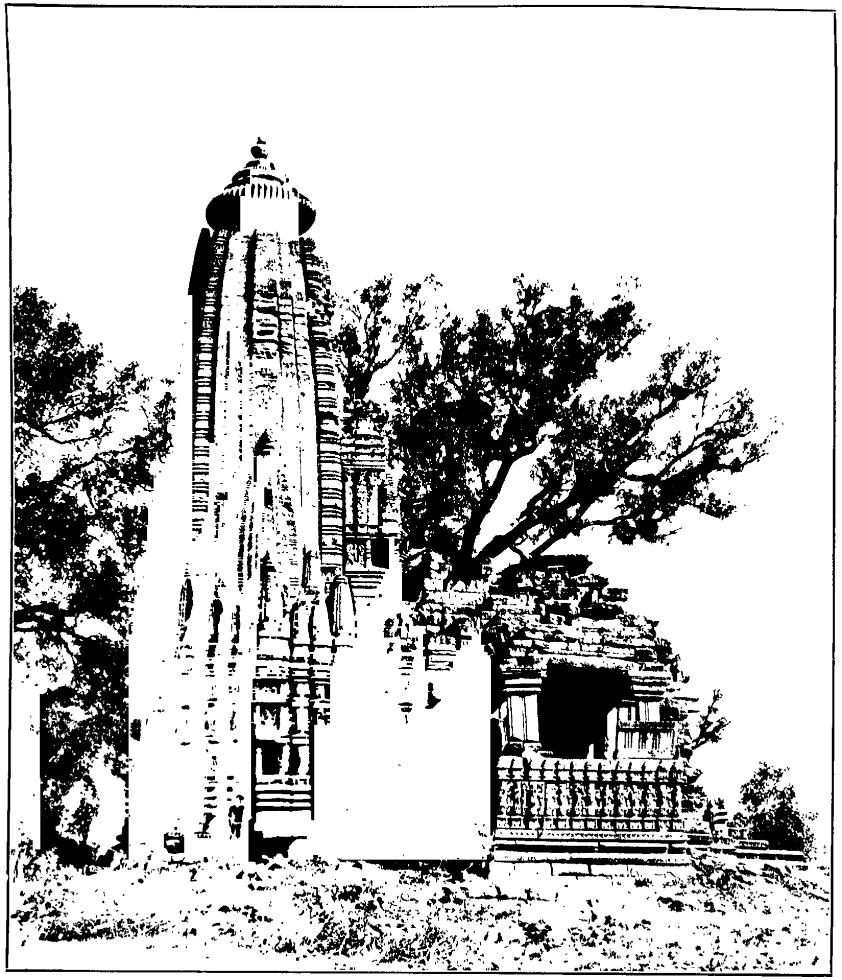
(b) GARBHAGRIHA.
TEMPLE OF KAMAKANDALA BILHARI



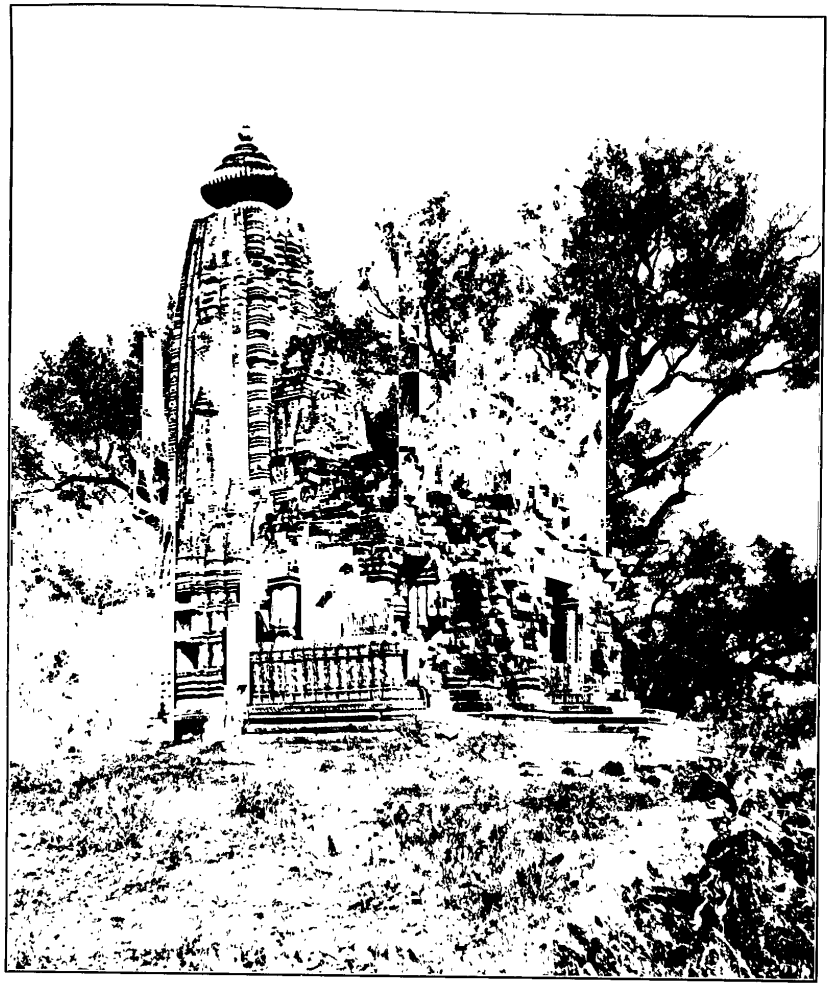
(a) GENERAL VIEW.



(b) PILLARS OF MANDAPA.
TEMPLE OF SIVA, BARGAON.

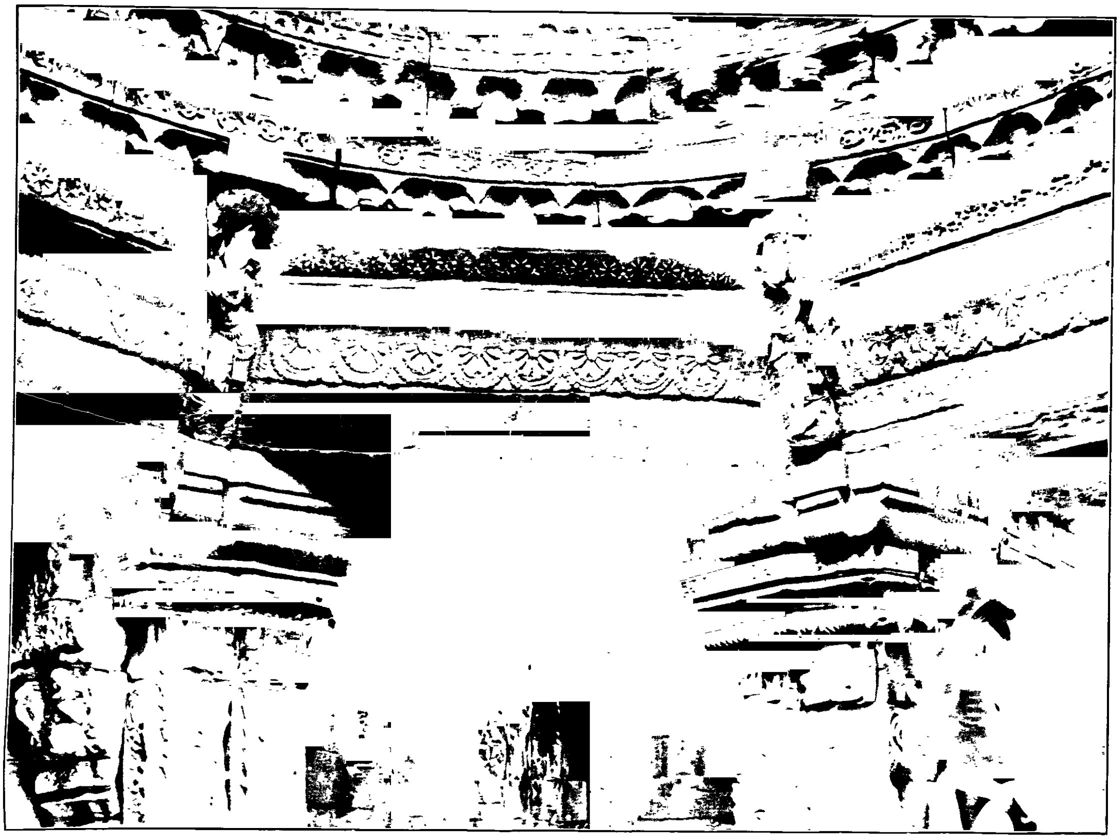


(a) SIDE.

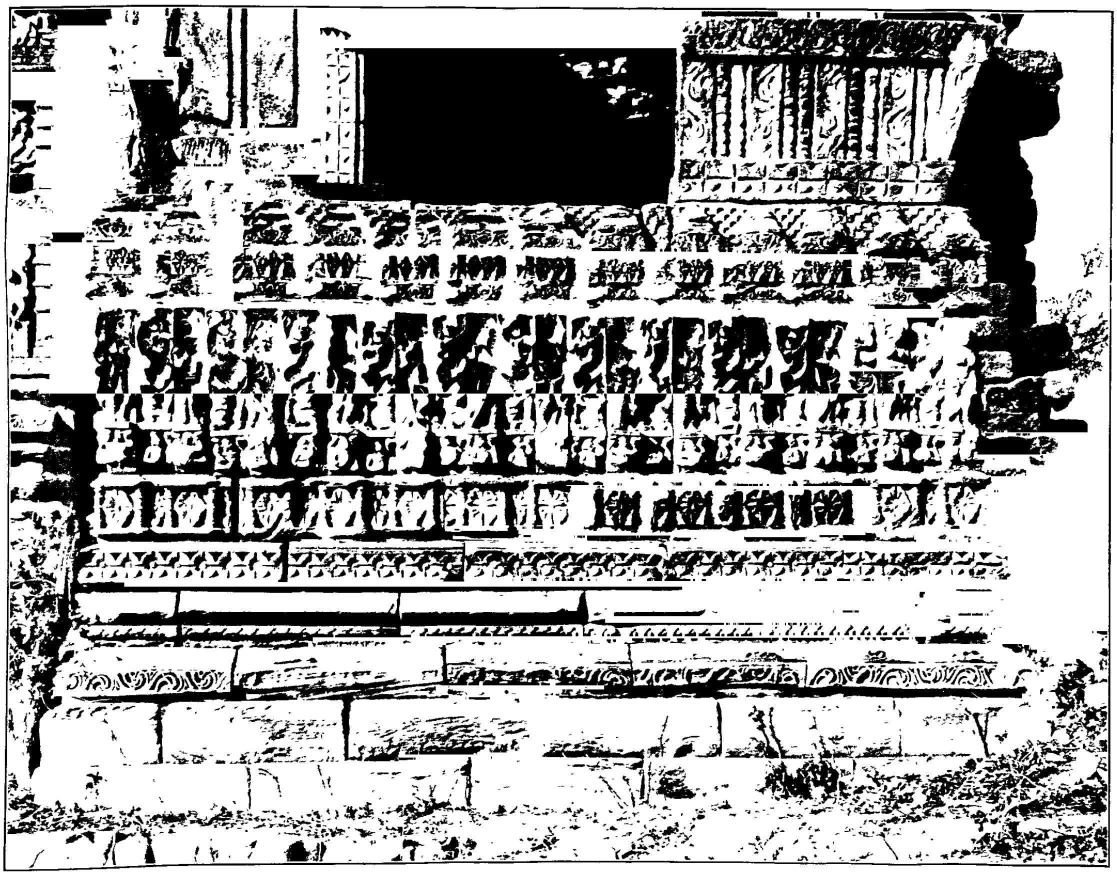


(b) FRONT.

TEMPLE OF VIRATESVARA, SOHAGPUR.

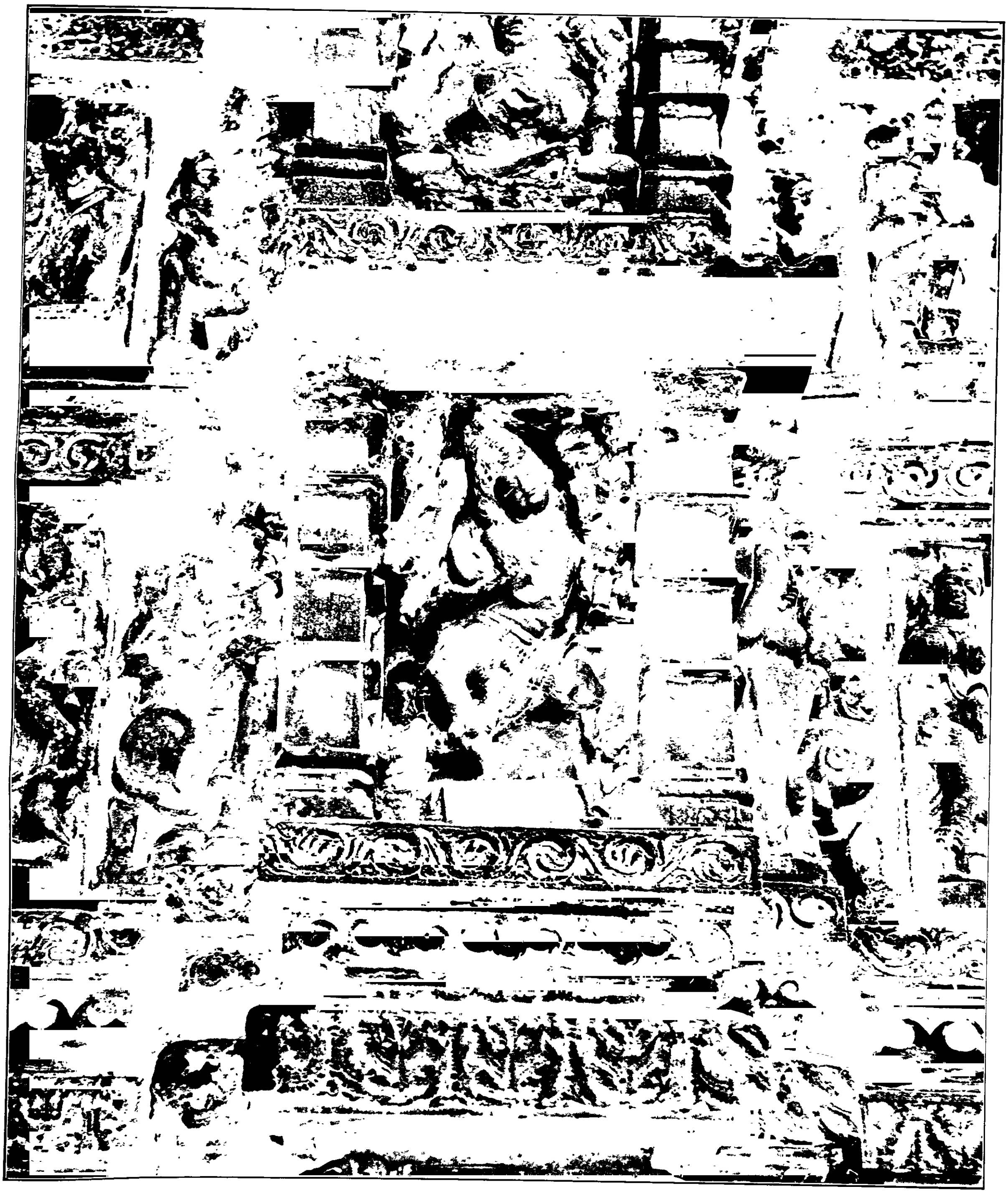


(a) INTERIOR OF MANDAPA



(b) DADO OF ARDDHAMANDAPA

TEMPLE OF VIRATESVARA, SOHAGPUR

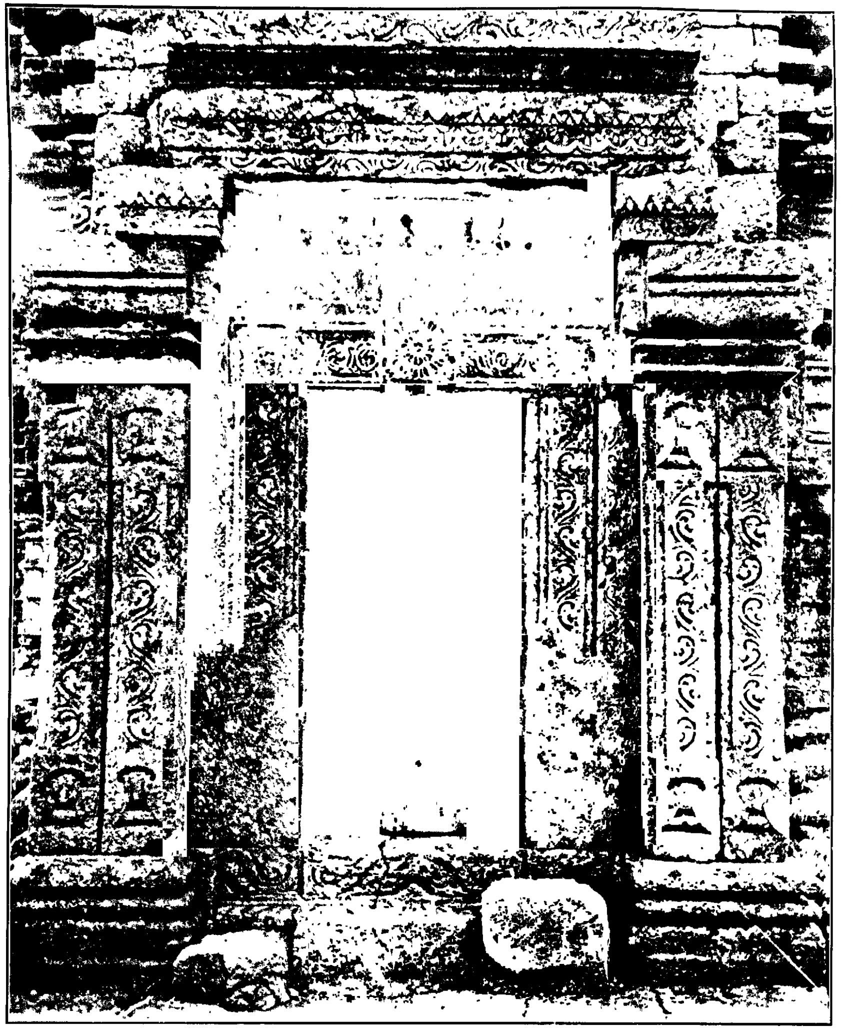


BACK PYLON OF GARBHAGRIHA
TEMPLE OF VIRATESVARA, SOHAGPUR

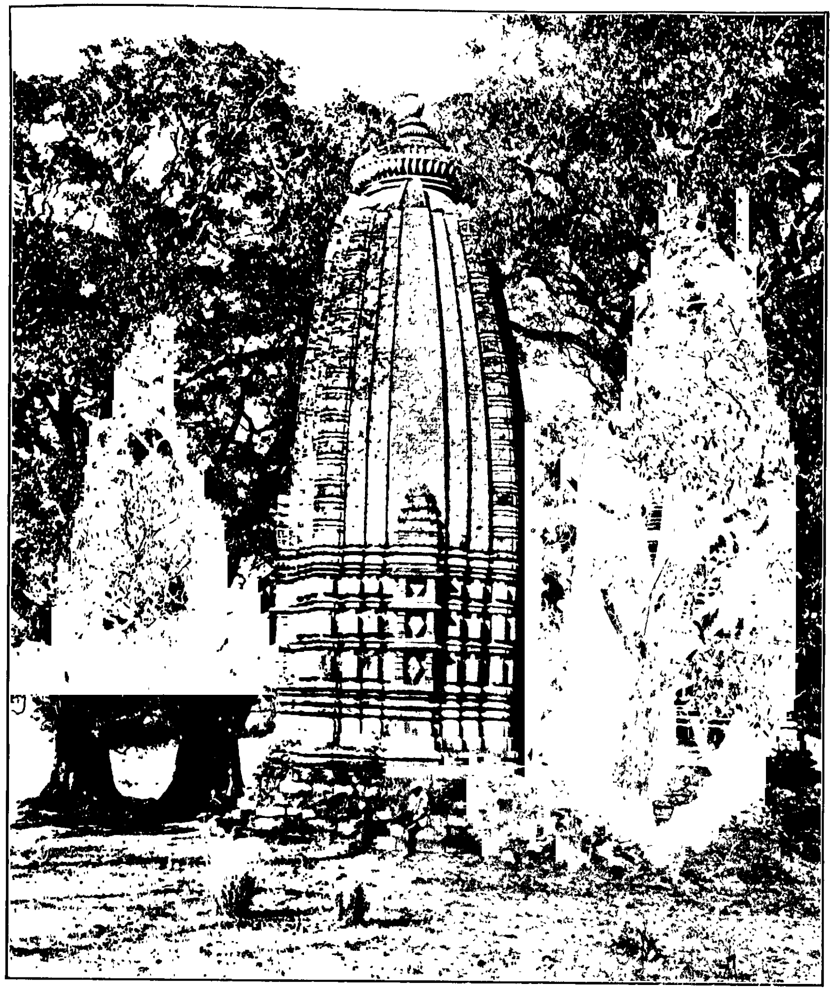


TRIPLE SHRINED TEMPLE OF KARNNA, AMARKANTAK

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1921.



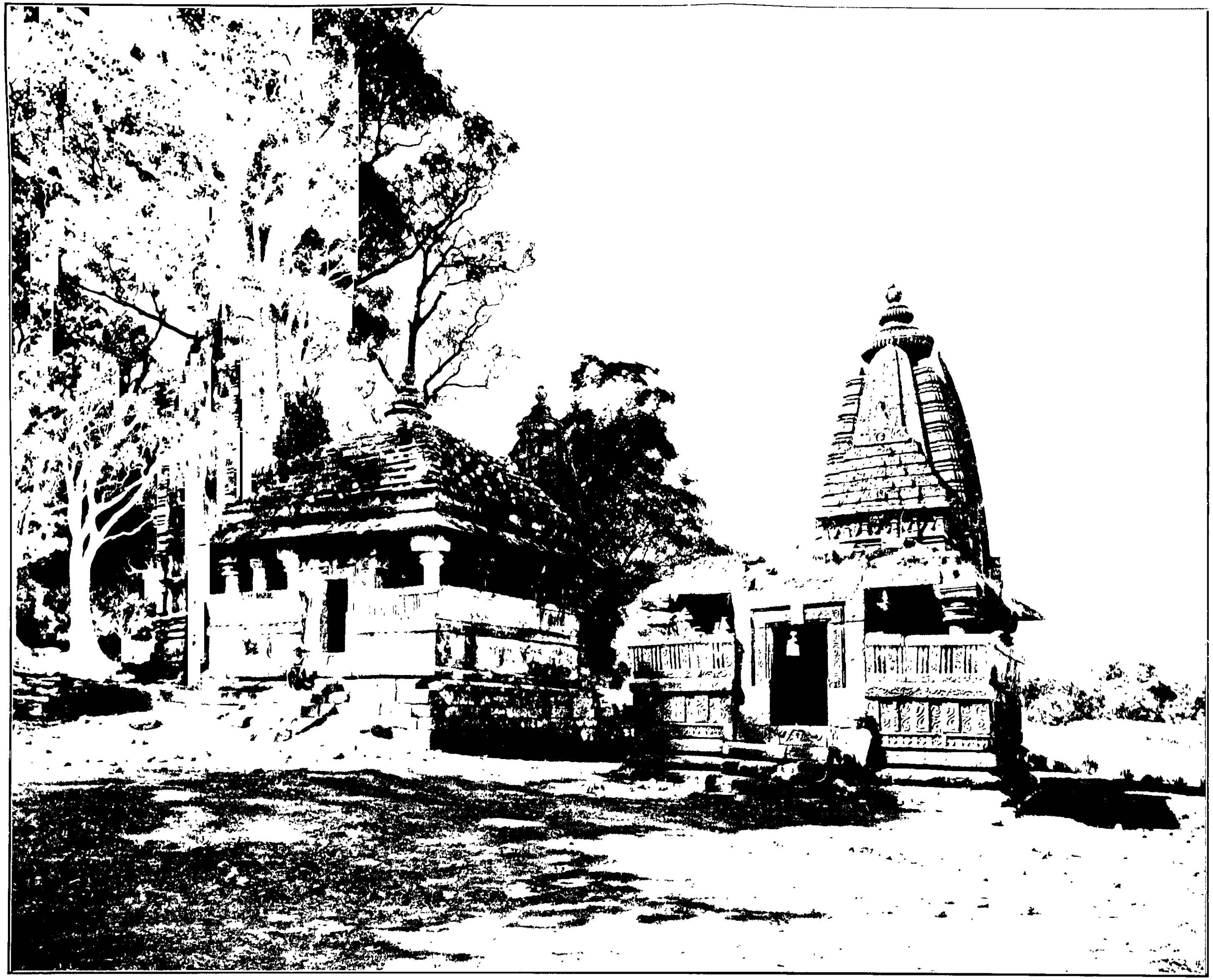
(a) DOORWAYS OF ONE OF THE TEMPLES



(b) BACK OF ONE OF THE TEMPLES

TRIPLE SHRINED TEMPLE OF KARNNA AMARKANTAK.

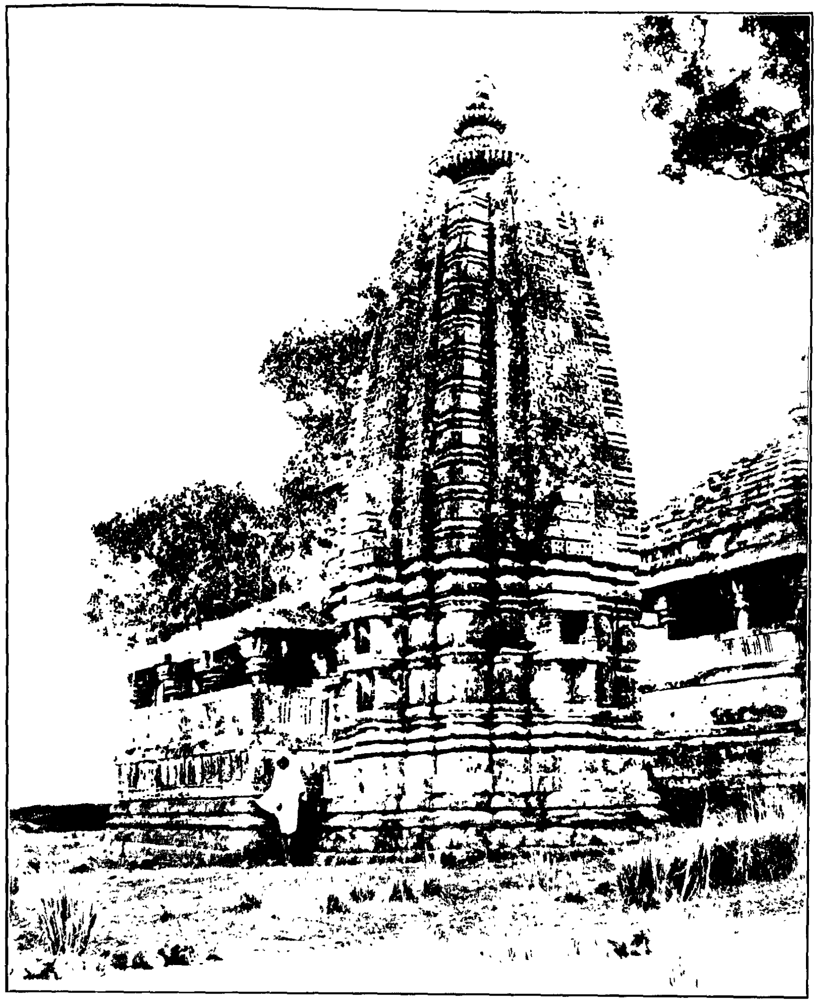
PLATE XV.



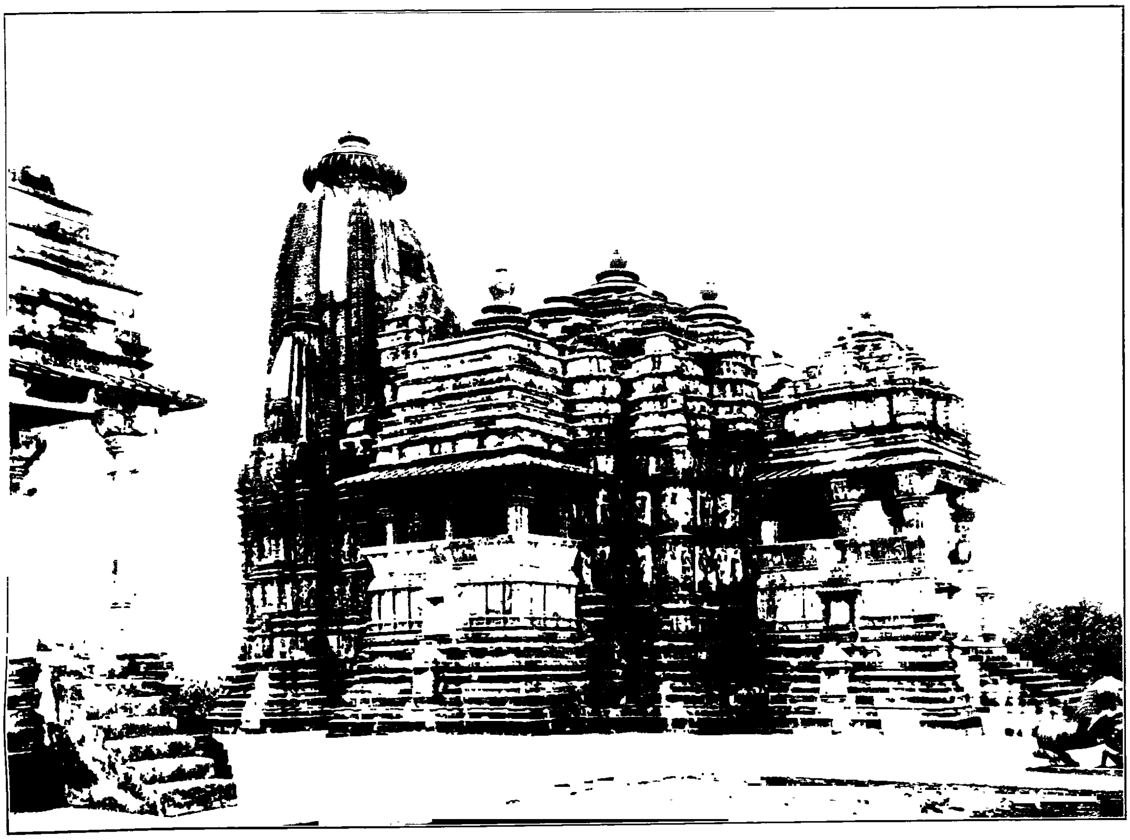
TEMPLE OF KESAVANARAYANA AND MACHCHHENDRANATHA, AMARKANTAK



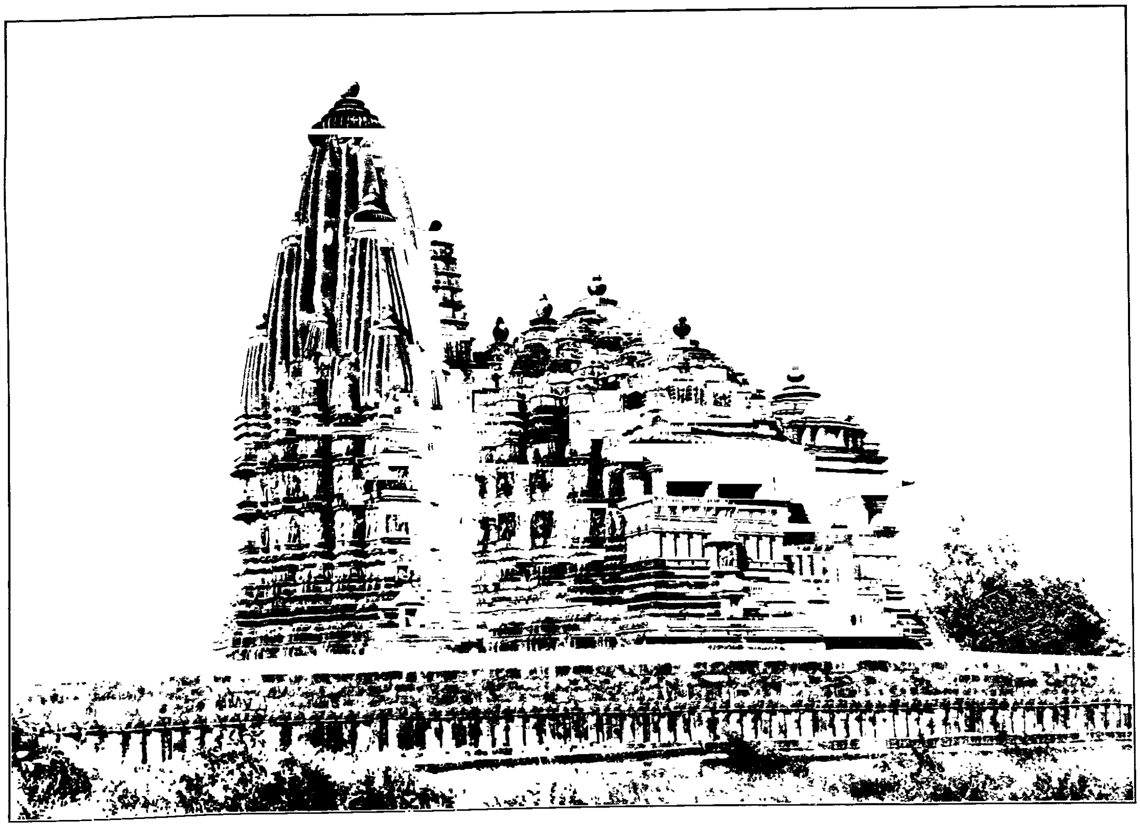
(a) TEMPLE OF PATALESVARA AT AMARKANTAK.



(b) BACK VIEW OF THE TEMPLE OF MACHCHHENDRANATH AT AMARKANTAK.

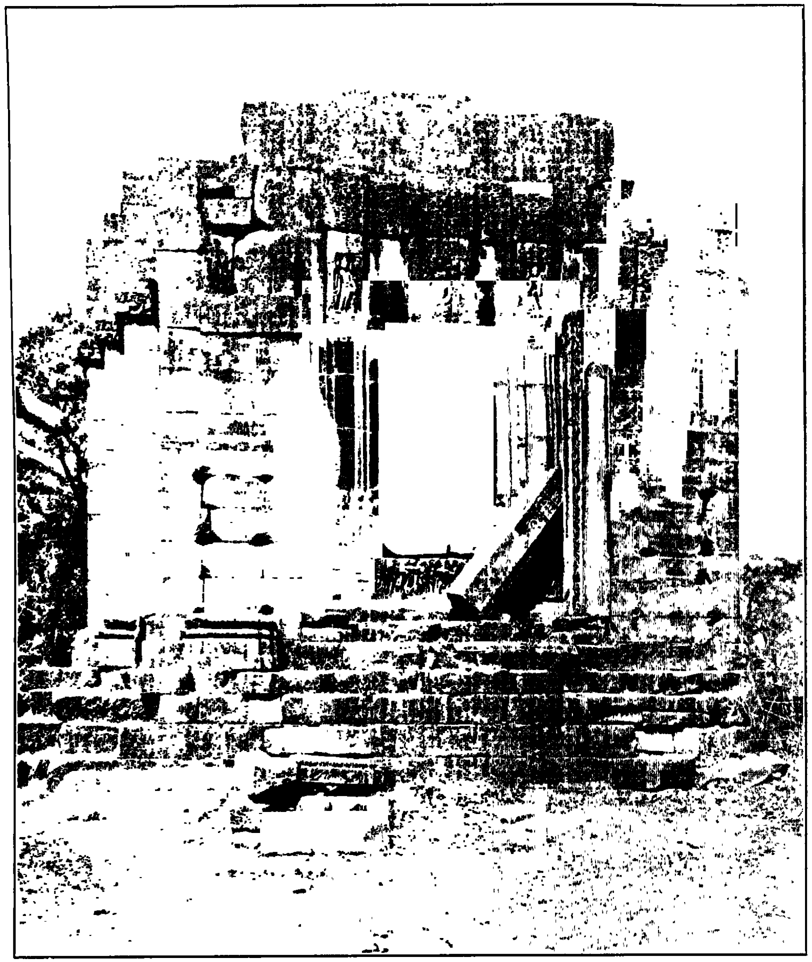


(a) TEMPLE OF DEVI.

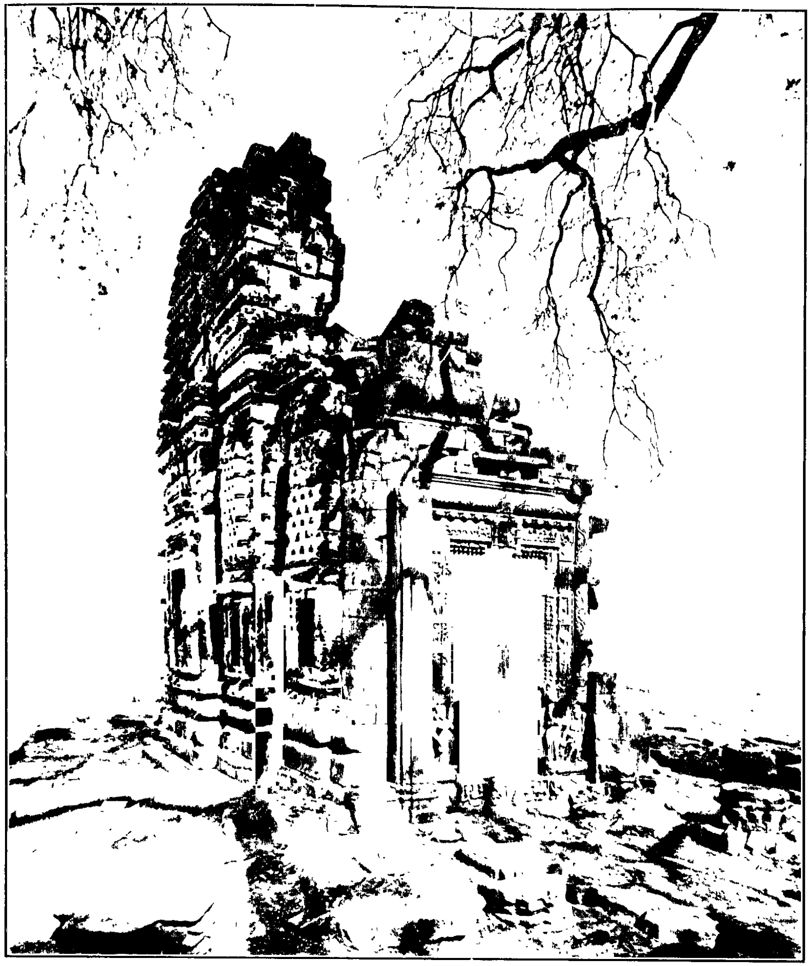


(b) TEMPLE OF CHITRAGUPTA.
KHAJURAHO

Plate XVIII

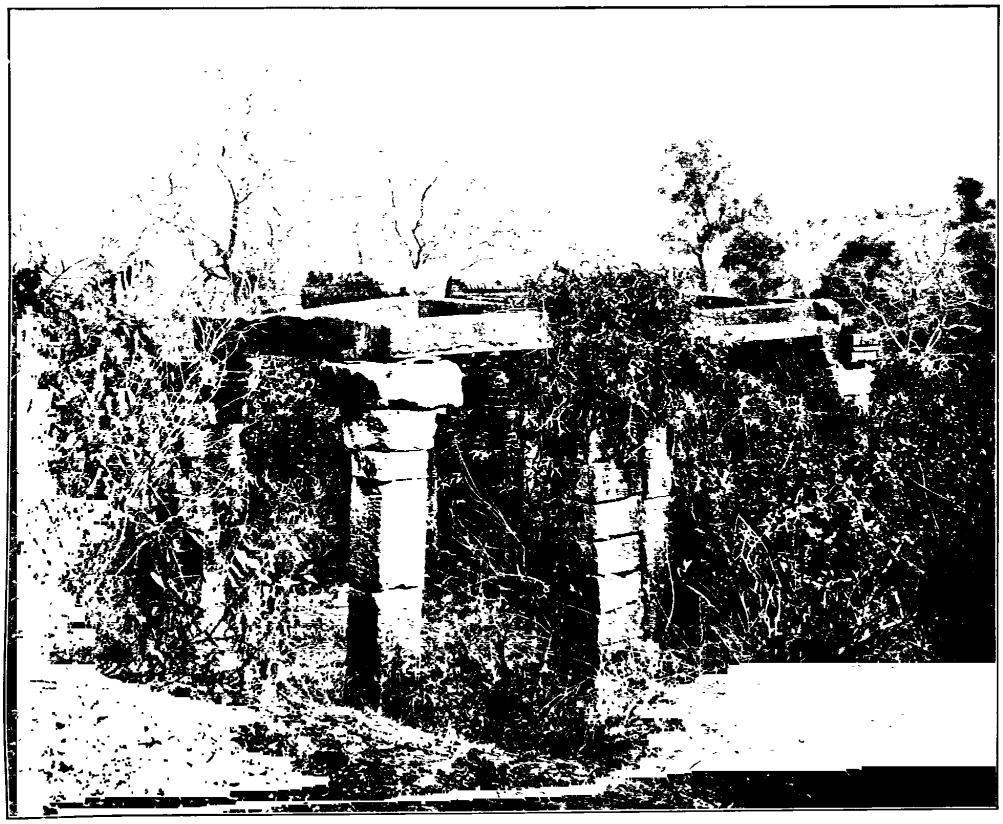


(a) Temple of Somanatha Bargaon.

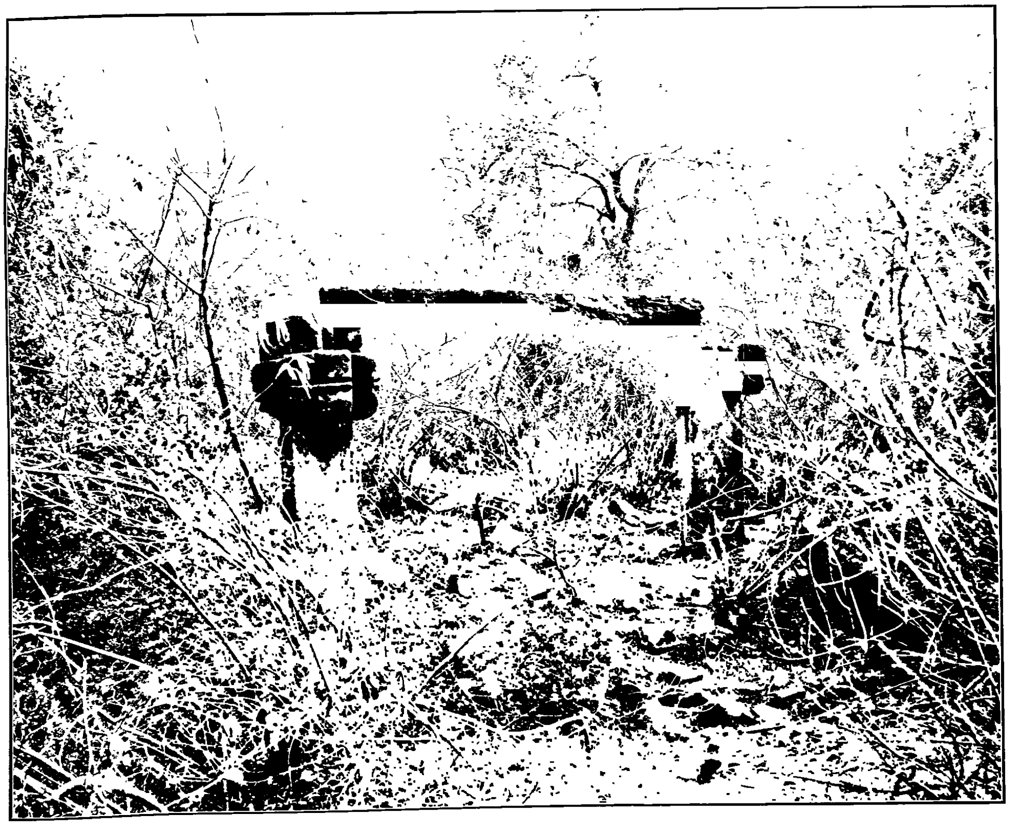


(b) Temple of Vaidyanatha Baijnath

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India Calcutta



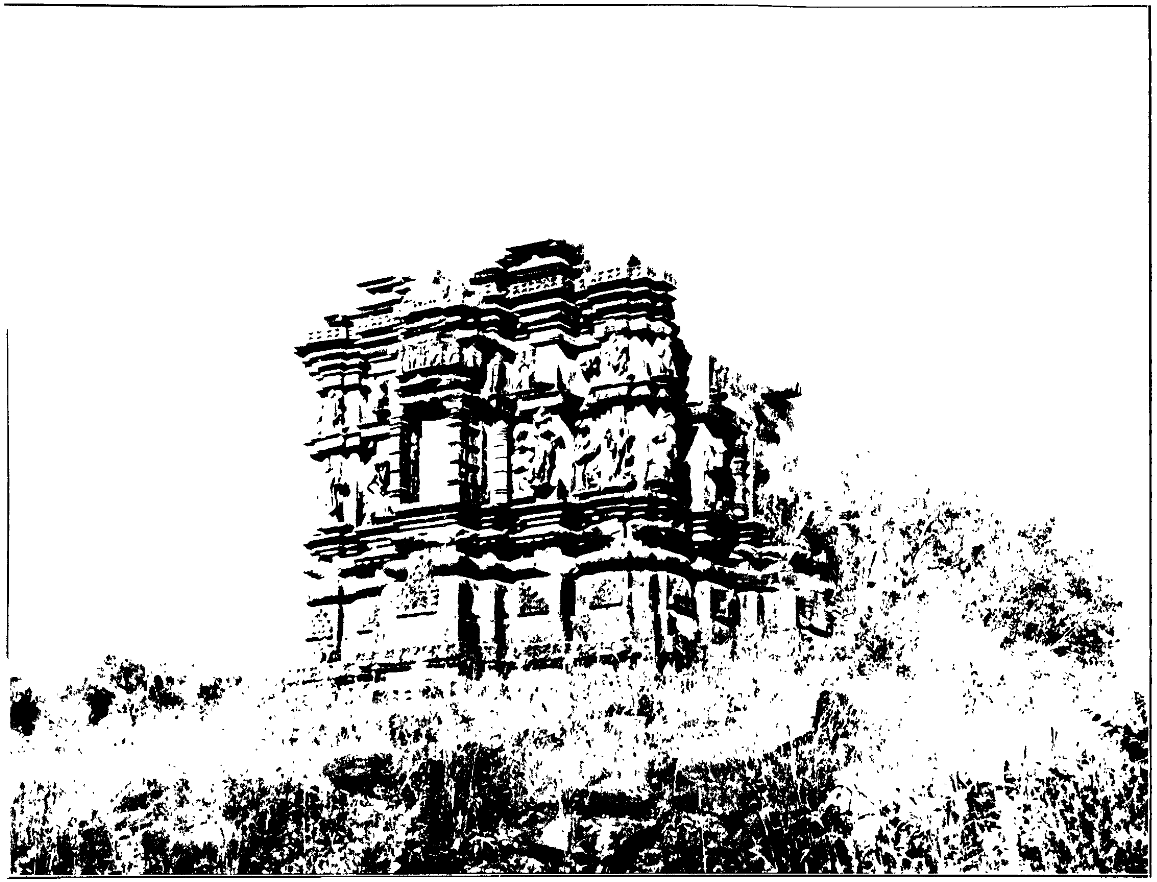
(a)



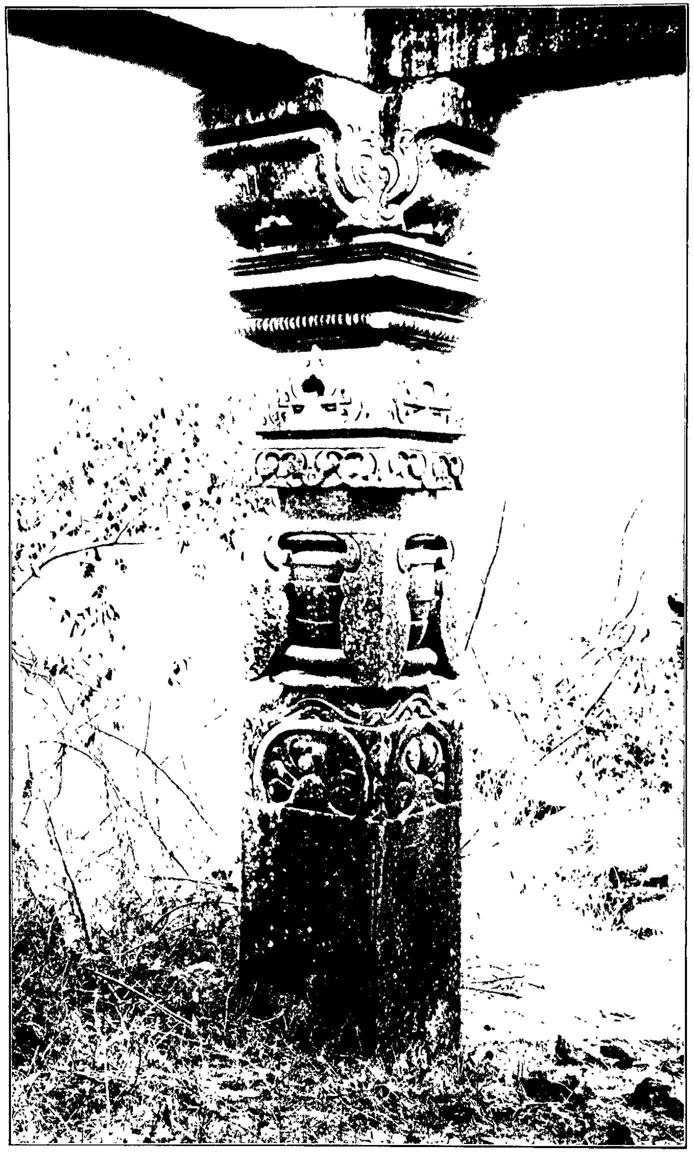
(b)

RUINS OF TEMPLES, KARANBEL.

PLATE XX

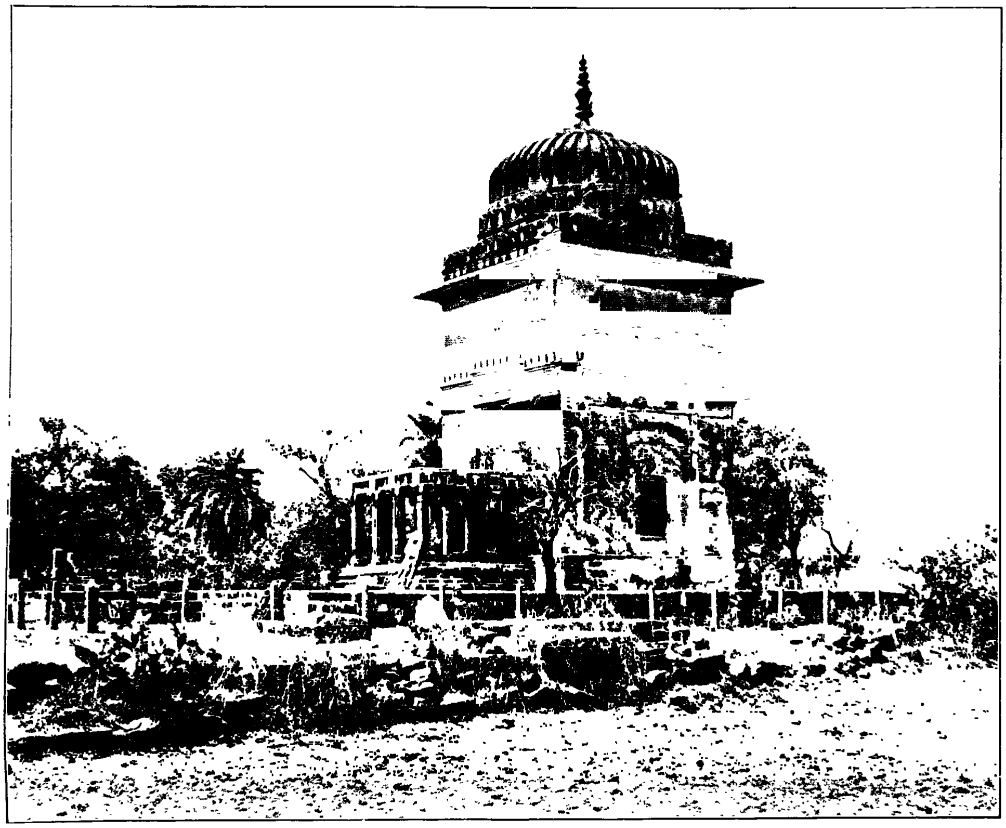


(a) TEMPLE OF SIVA, MARAI

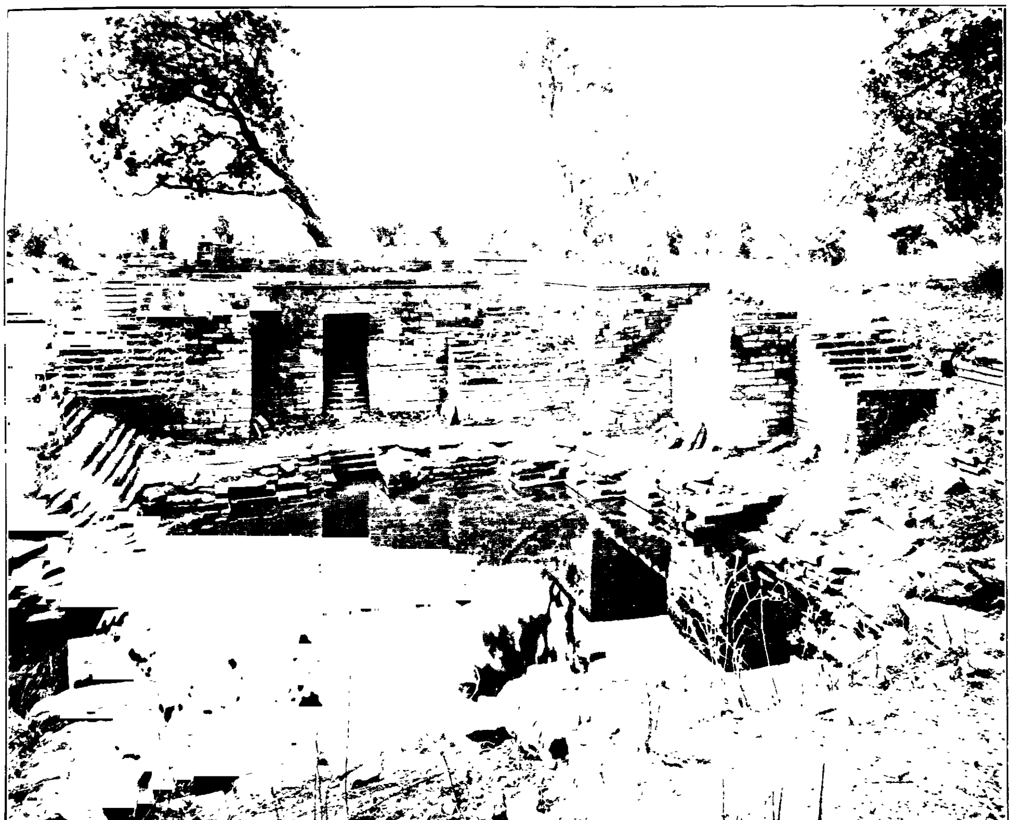


(b) PILLAR IN RUINED MANDAPA, KARANBEL.

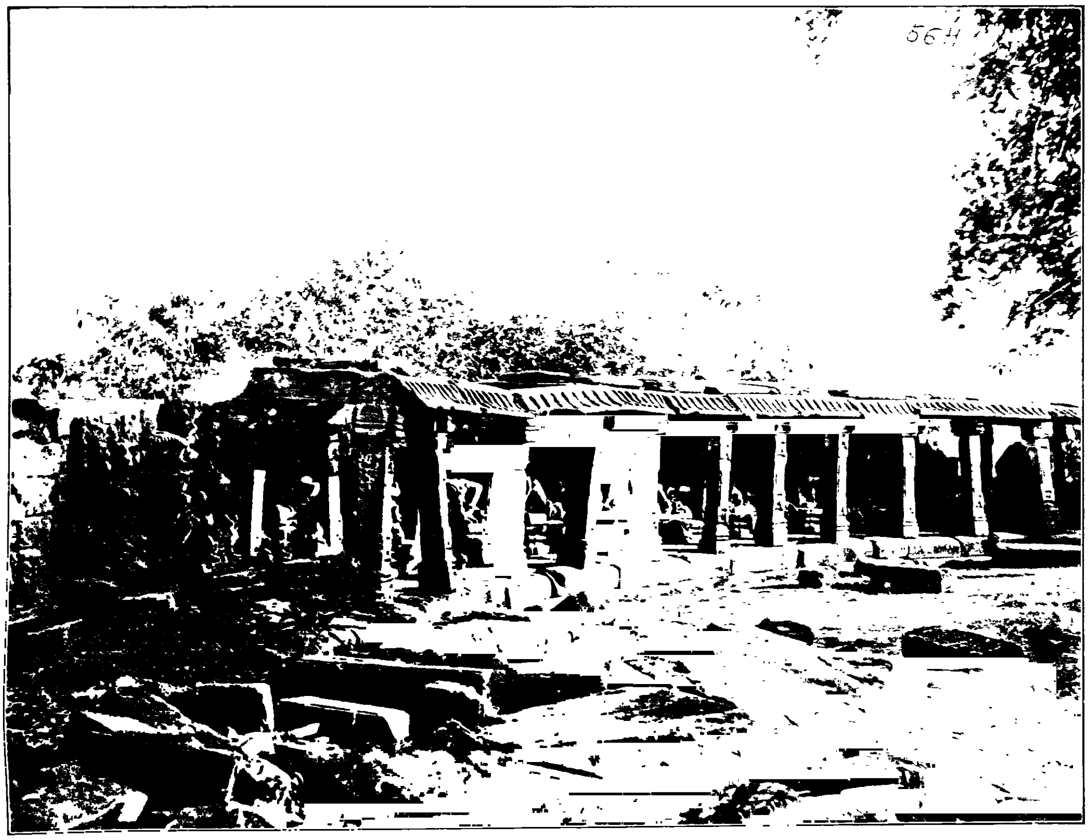
Photo-etc. raved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 19..



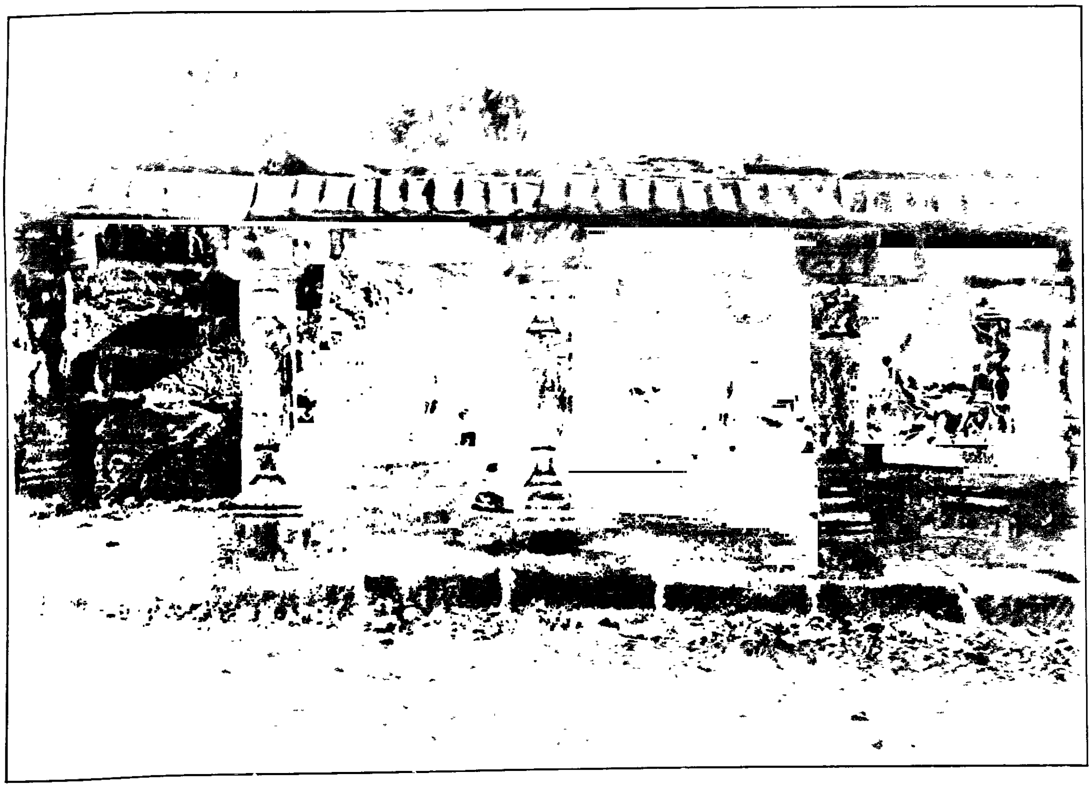
(a) TEMPLE OF VISHNU-VARAHA, BILHARI



(b) STEPPED WELL, TEWAR



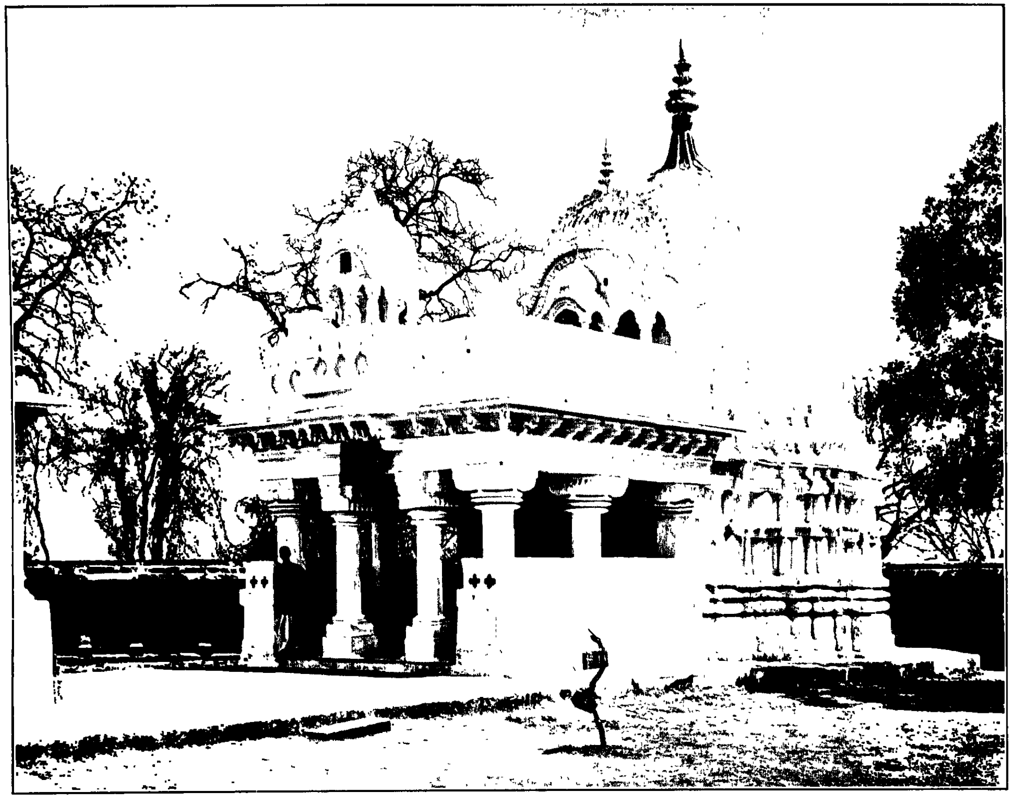
(a) BEFORE REPAIRS.



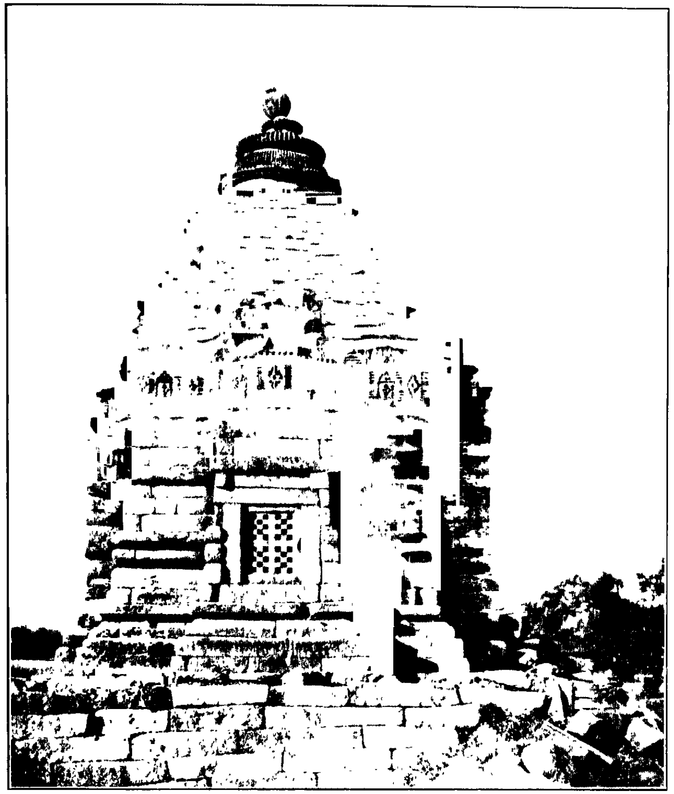
(b) AFTER REPAIRS.

CIRCULAR TEMPLE OF SIXTYFOUR YOGINIS, BHERAGHAT.

PLATE XXIII



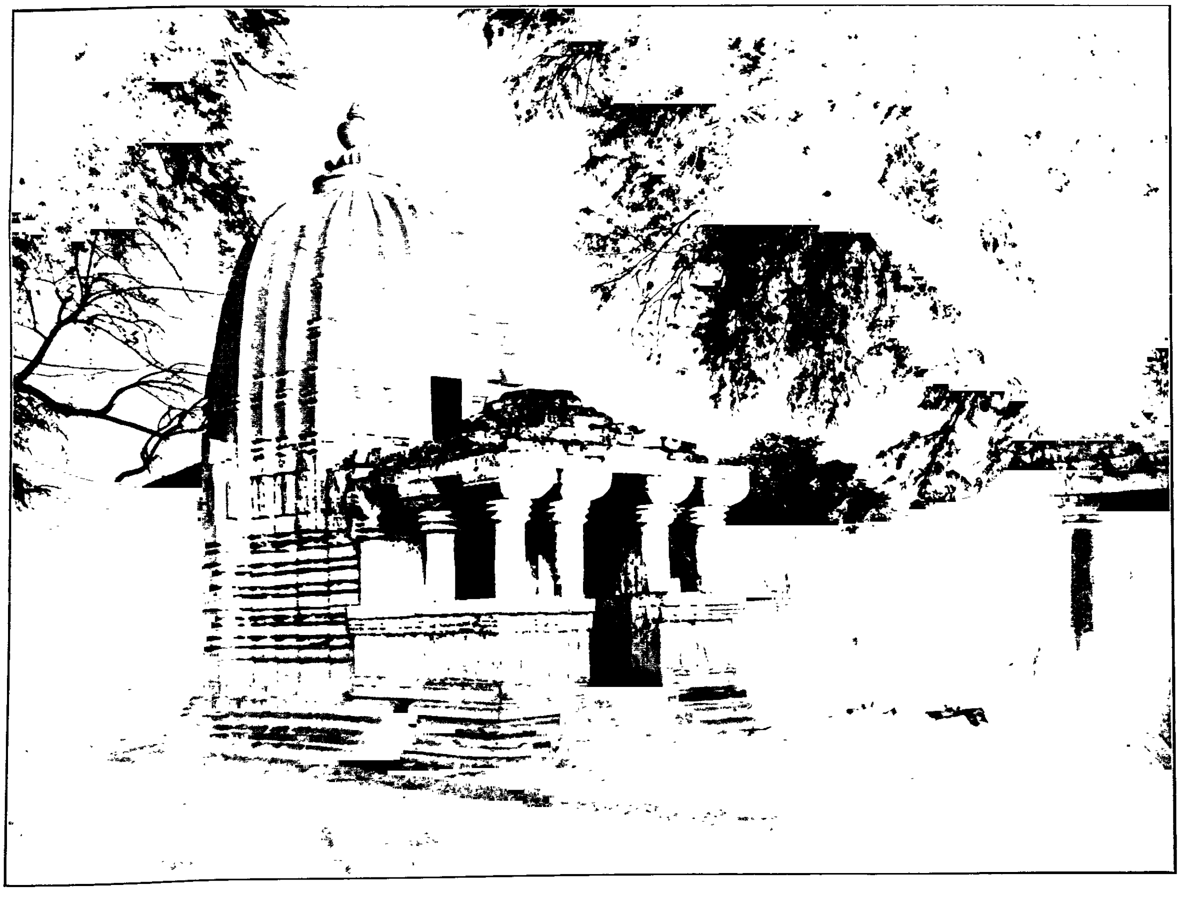
(a) TEMPLE OF VAIDYANATHA NOW CALLED GAURI SANKARA, BHERAGHAT



(b) TEMPLE OF BRAHMA, KHAJURAHO

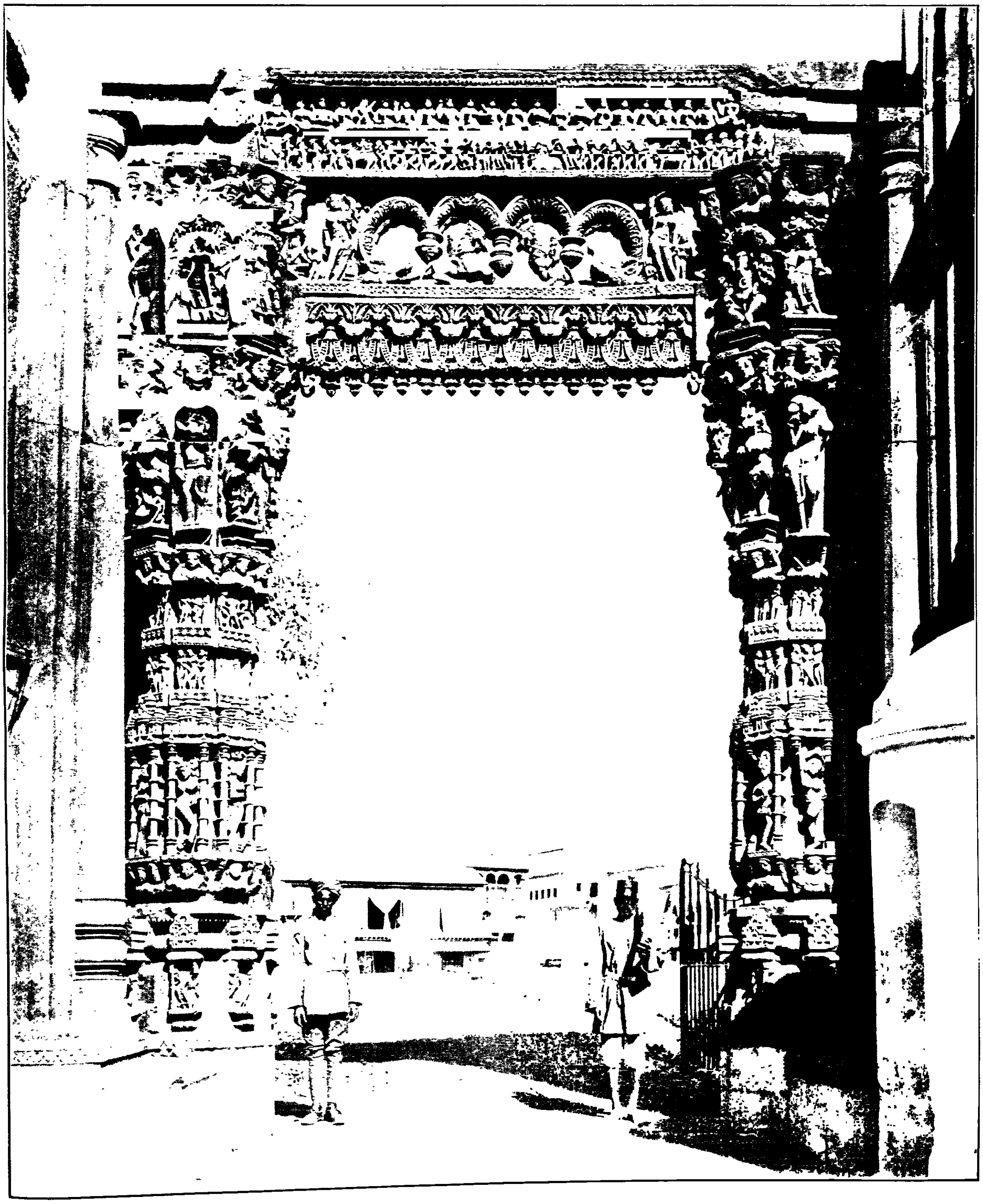


(a) TEMPLE OF SIVA.



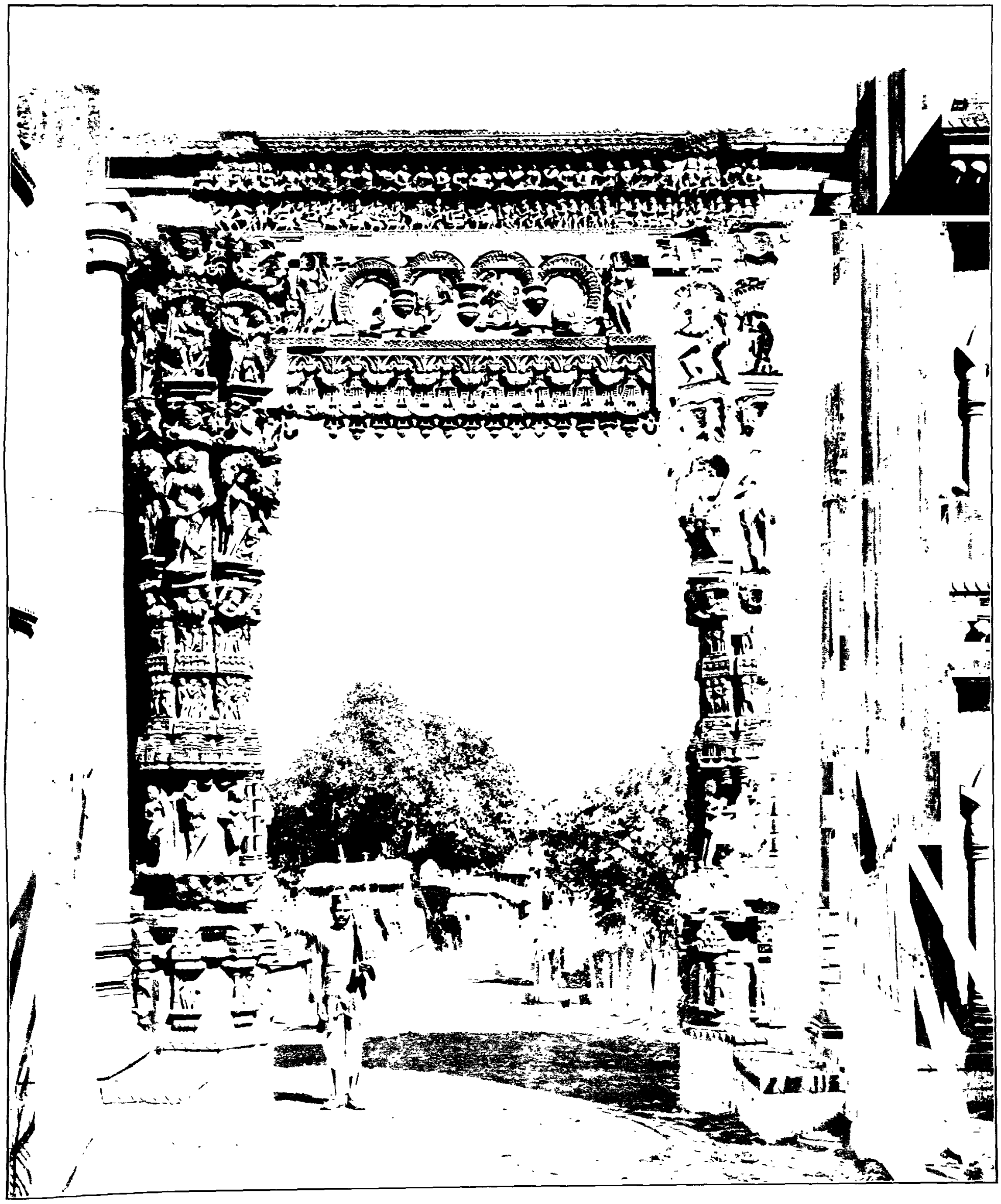
(b) TEMPLE OF SOMANATHA.
DEOTALAO.

[illegible] the Survey [illegible] India, Calcutta [illegible]



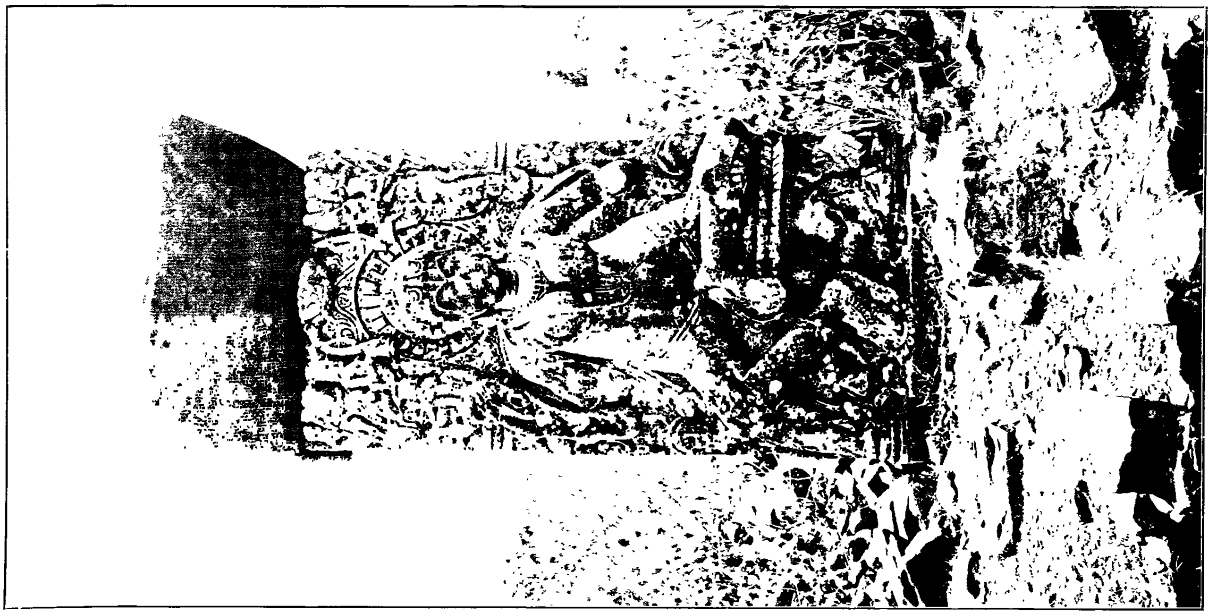
FRONT.
TORANA OF TEMPLE OF SIVA AT GURGI.

[illegible]



BACK

TORANA OF TEMPLE OF SIVA AT GURGI



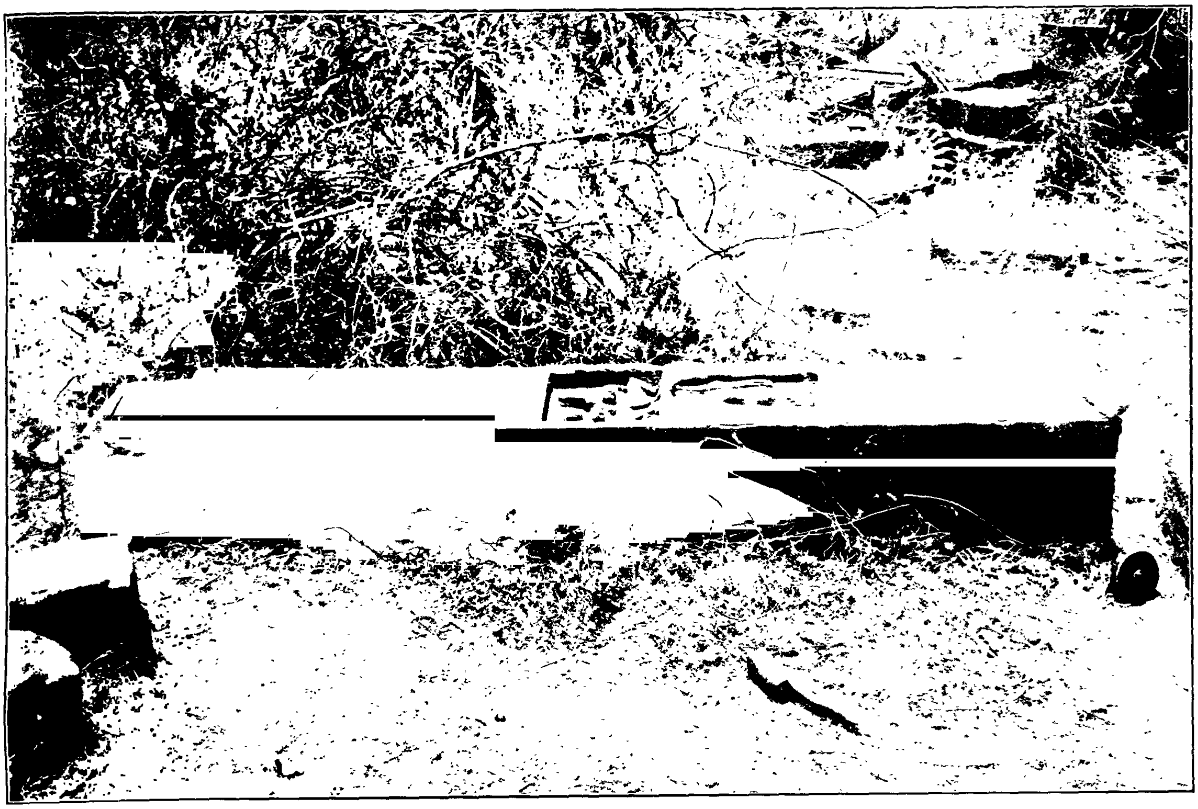
(a) PADMĀ.



(b) UMĀ-MAHEŚVARA.

IMAGES ON GURGAI MOUND, GURGI.

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta



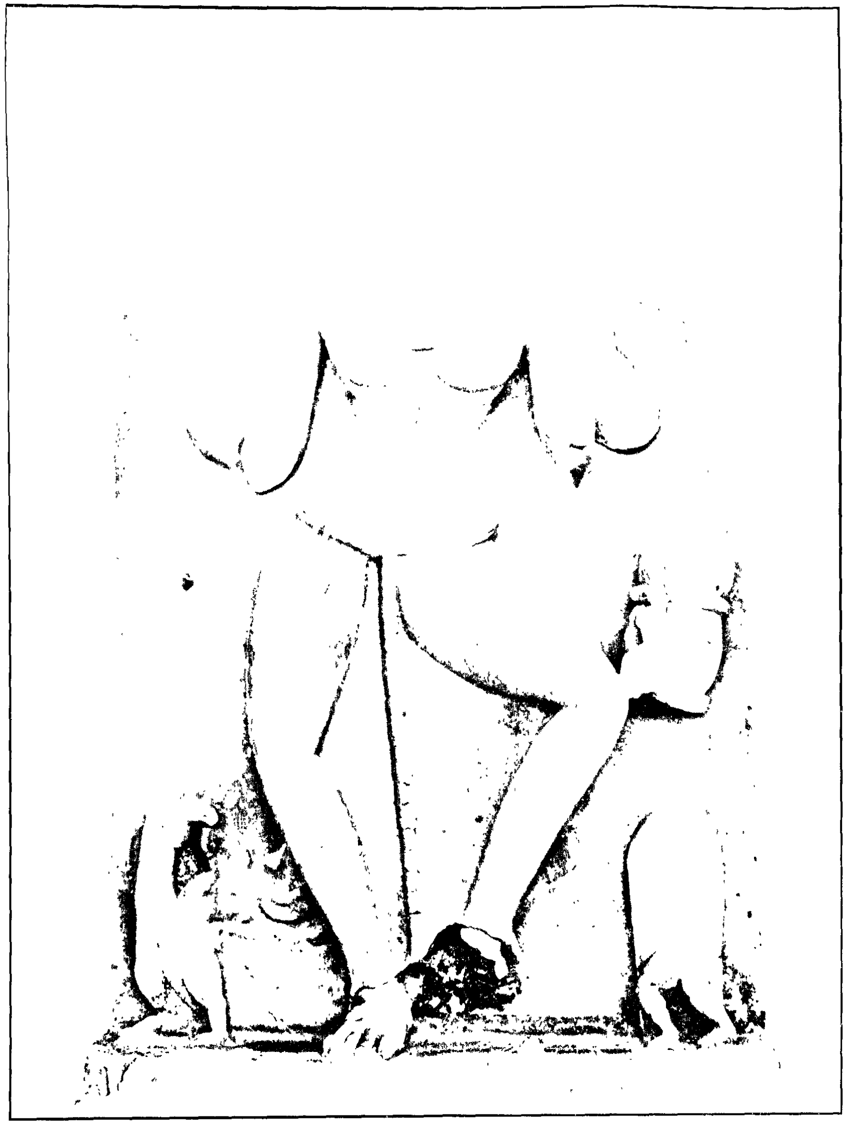
(a) PILLAR WITH THE INSCRIPTION OF SAMKARAGANA FROM CHHOTI DEORI.



(b) NARASIMHA FROM MANORA.

Photo-engraved & printed at the offices of the Survey of India Calcutta [illegible]

PLATE XXIX.



(a) Dancing goddess



(b) Vaishnavi.

From the circular Temple of the sixtyfour Yoginis at Bheraghat.

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1931.

PLATE XXX.



(a) TERAMVA.

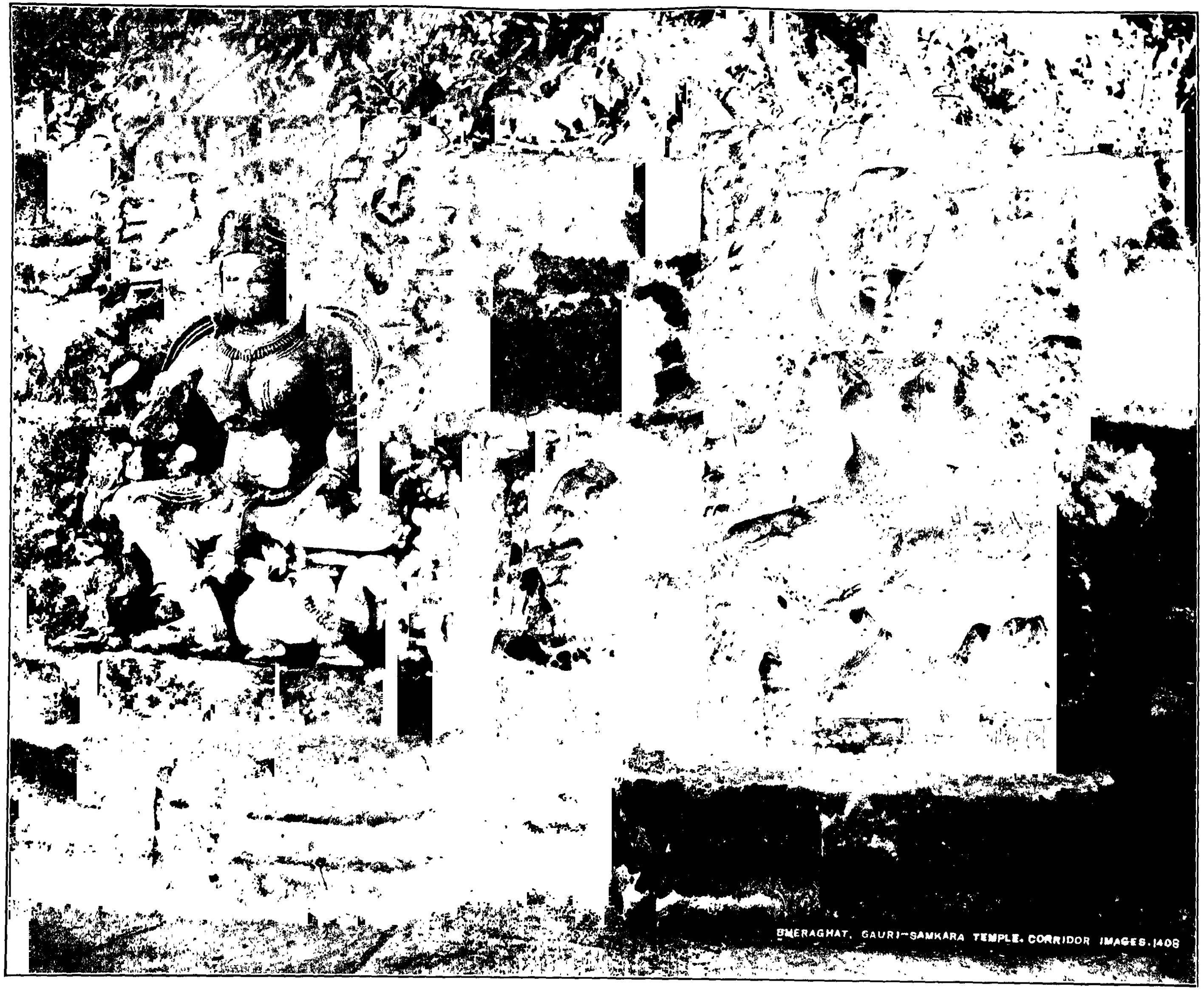


(b) JAHNAVI

FROM THE CIRCULAR TEMPLE OF THE SIXTYFOUR YOGINIS AT BHERAGHAT

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 192[illegible]

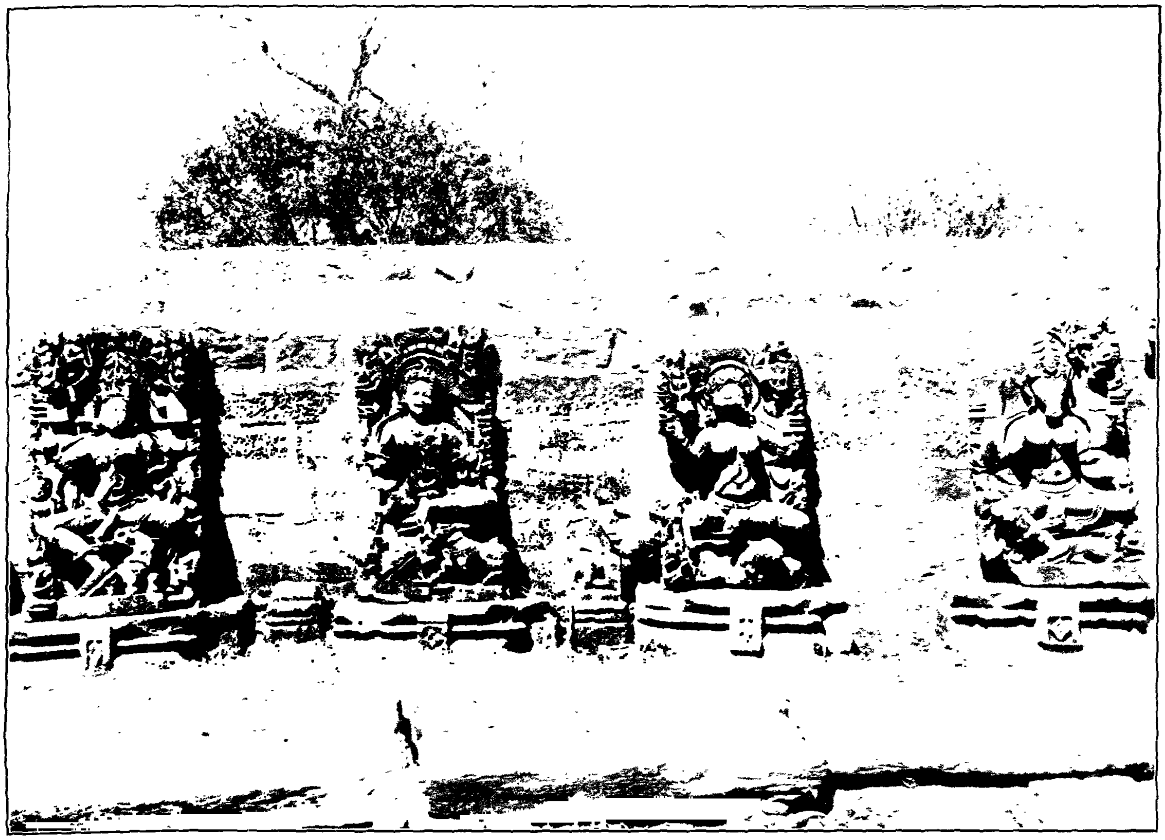
PLATE XXXI.



PHANENDRI.

FROM THE CIRCULAR TEMPLE OF THE SIXTYFOUR YOGINIS AT BHERAGHAT

Photo-engraved & printed at the offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta 1921



RANAHRA (a) SARVVATOMUKHI EKADI



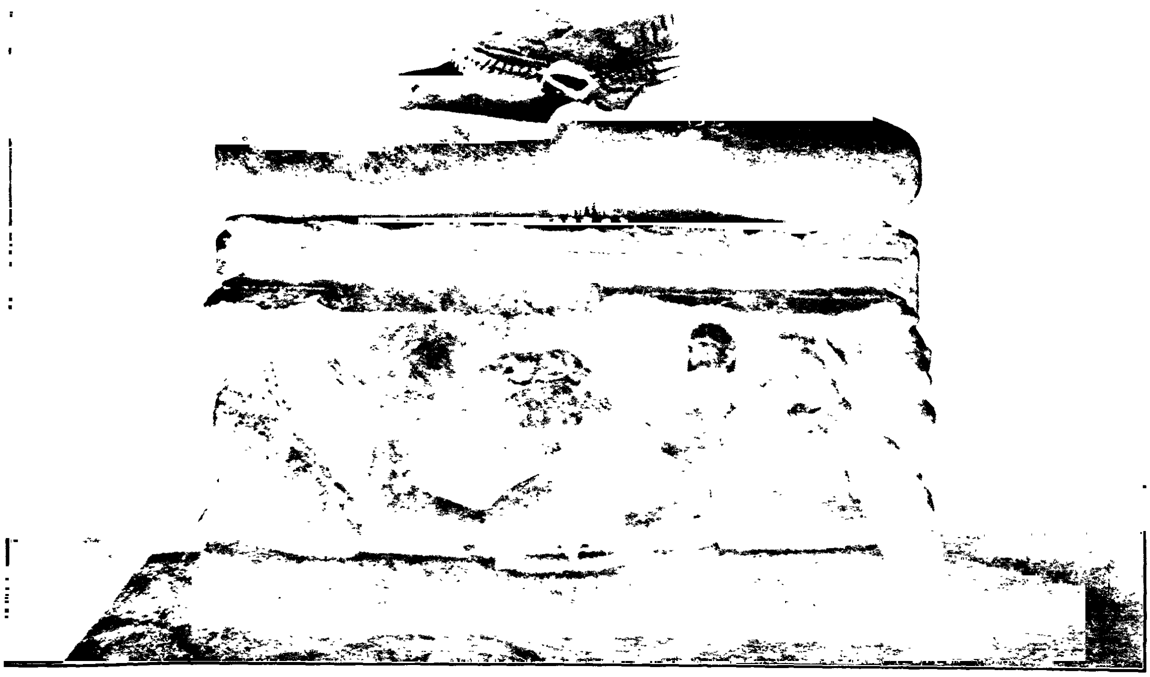
(b) VIRENDRI THAKINI

FROM THE CIRCULAR TEMPLE OF THE SIXTYFOUR YOGINIS AT BHERAGHAT.

Photo-engraved & printed at the offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta 1925

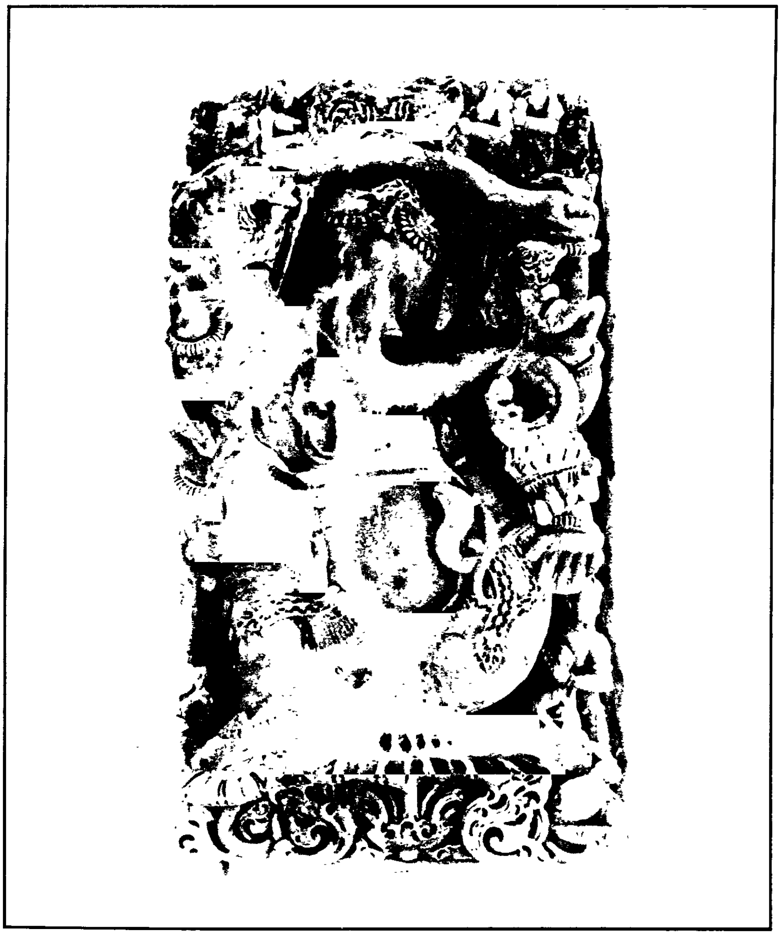


(a)



(b) BODHISATTVA
FROM THE CIRCULAR TEMPLE OF THE SIXTYFOUR YOGINIS AT BHERAGHAT.

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta 1921

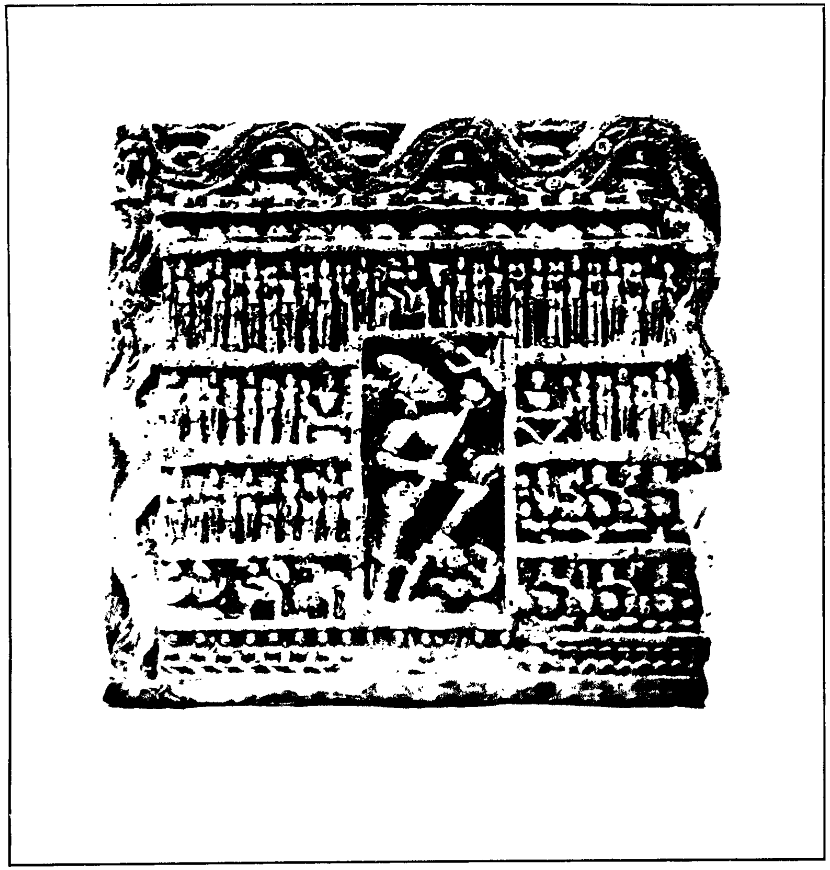


(*a*) GANESA.
FROM THE CIRCULAR TEMPLE OF SIXTYFOUR YOGINIS AT BHERAGHAT.



(*b*) BASRELIEF AT TEWAR.

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1925.



(a) ANDHAKA-VADHA ETC



(b) KARTTIKEYA.

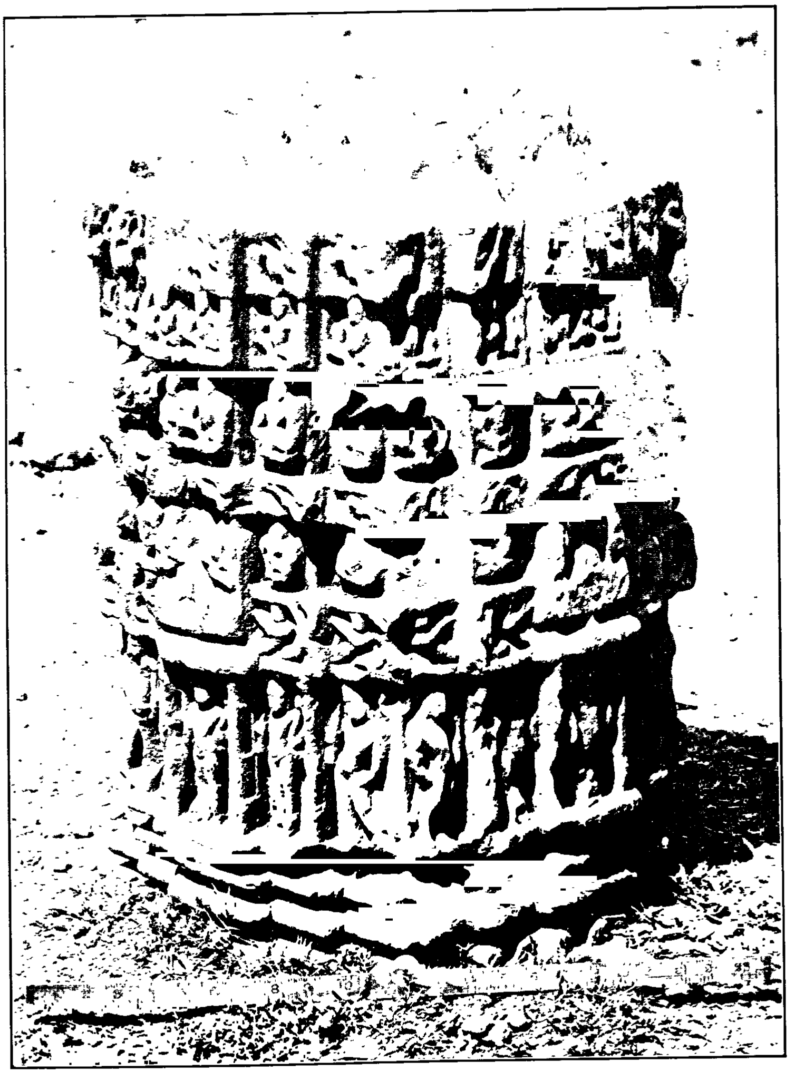
TEWAR

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta 1925

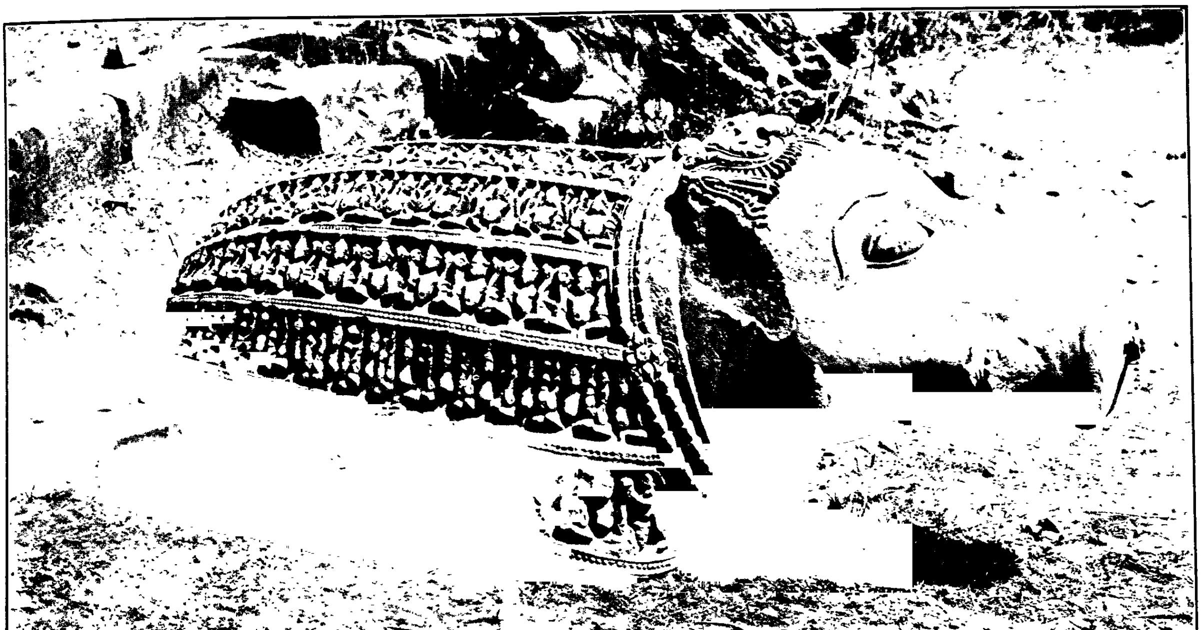


BODHISATTVA (?) TEWAR

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1923



(a) SURYANARAYANA, MASAUN.



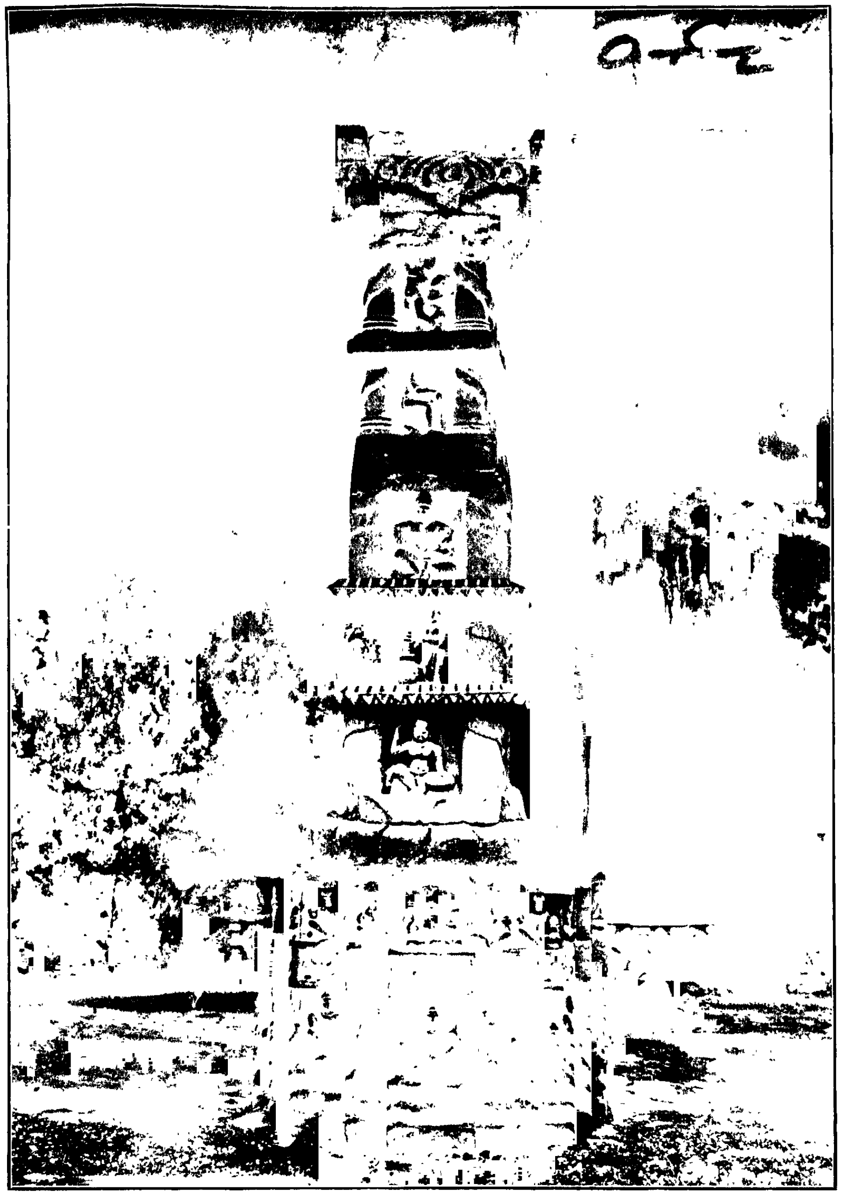
(b) VARAHA, BILHARI.

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1924

PLATE XXXVIII



(a)



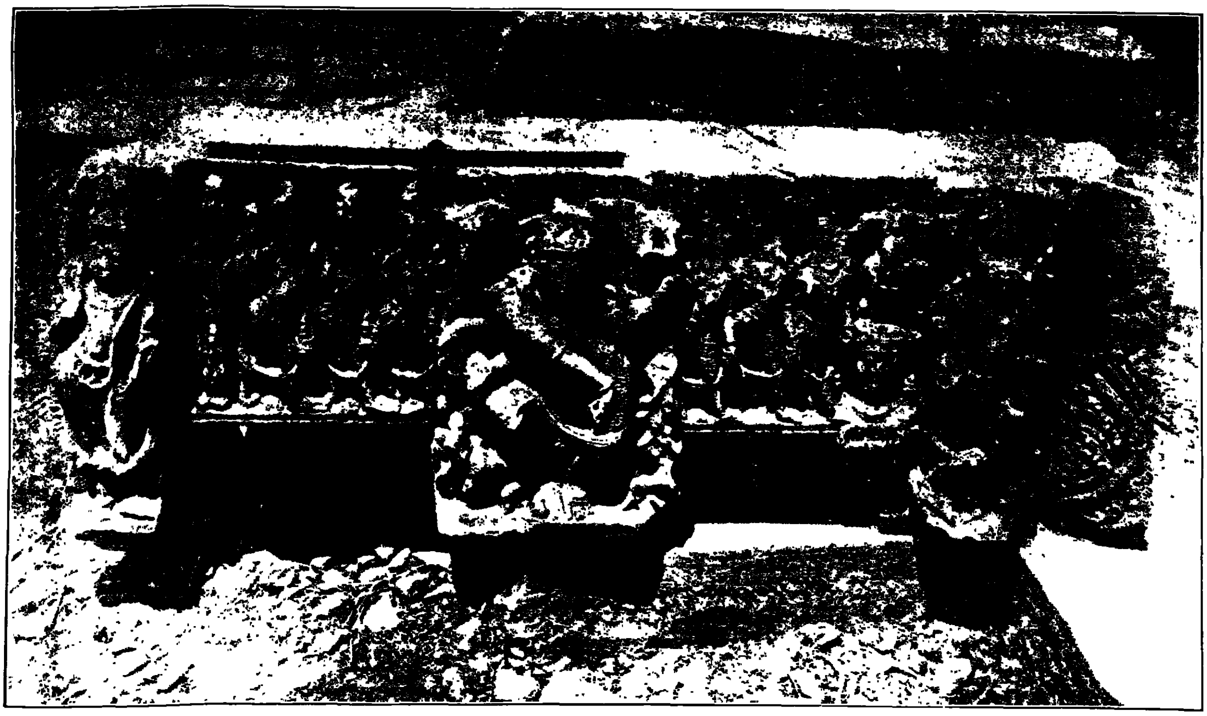
(b)

PILLARS WITH BASRELIEFS ON DAM OF TANK MARAI.

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, [illegible]



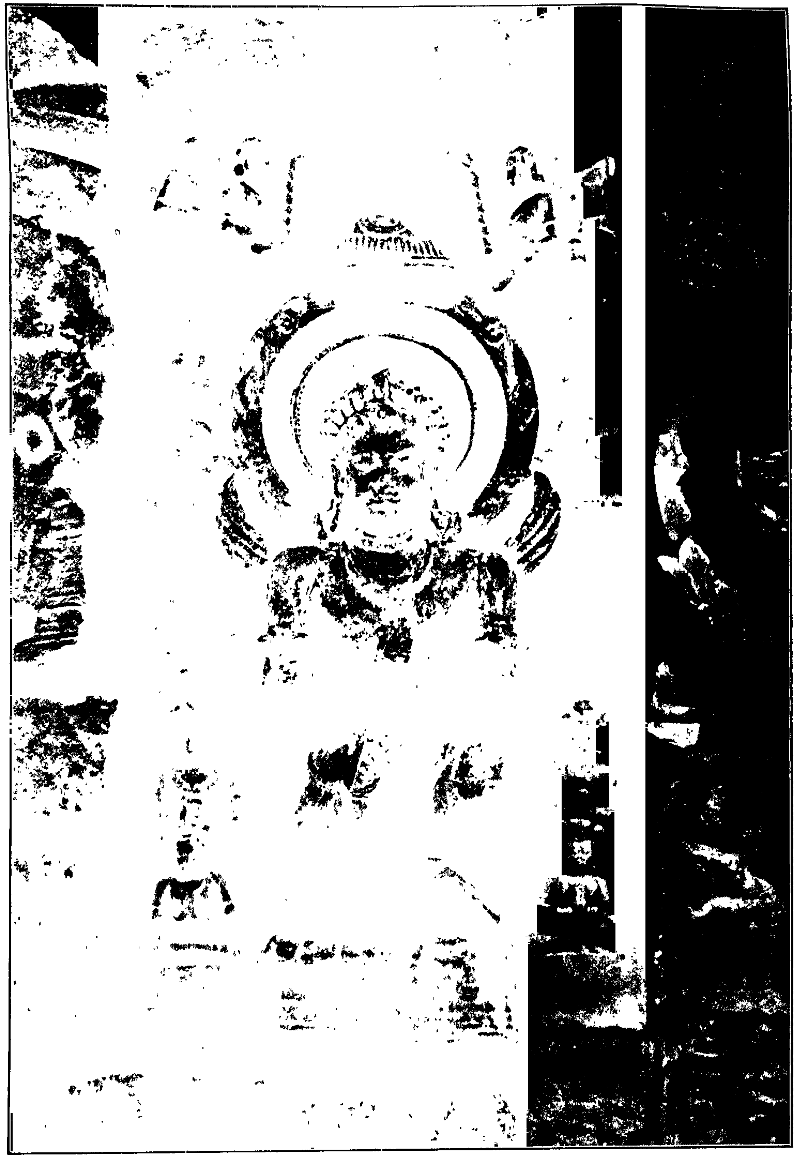
(a) KALI AT SILCHAT NEAR GURGI.



(b) LINTEL OF TEMPLE, BARGAON.

Photo-engraved & printed at the offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1921

PLATE XL.



(a) GARUDA.



(b) VISHNU.

FROM THE THAKUR'S PALACE, SOHAGPUR.

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta 1921





a & *b*. JAINA SASANADEVIS FROM THE THAKUR'S PALACE, SOHAGPUR.

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1921



(*a*) SESHASAYIN.



(*b*) BASRELIEF OF KRISHNA-CHARITRA.
FROM THE THAKUR'S PALACE, SOHAGPUR.

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India Calcutta 1925

PLATE XLIII.



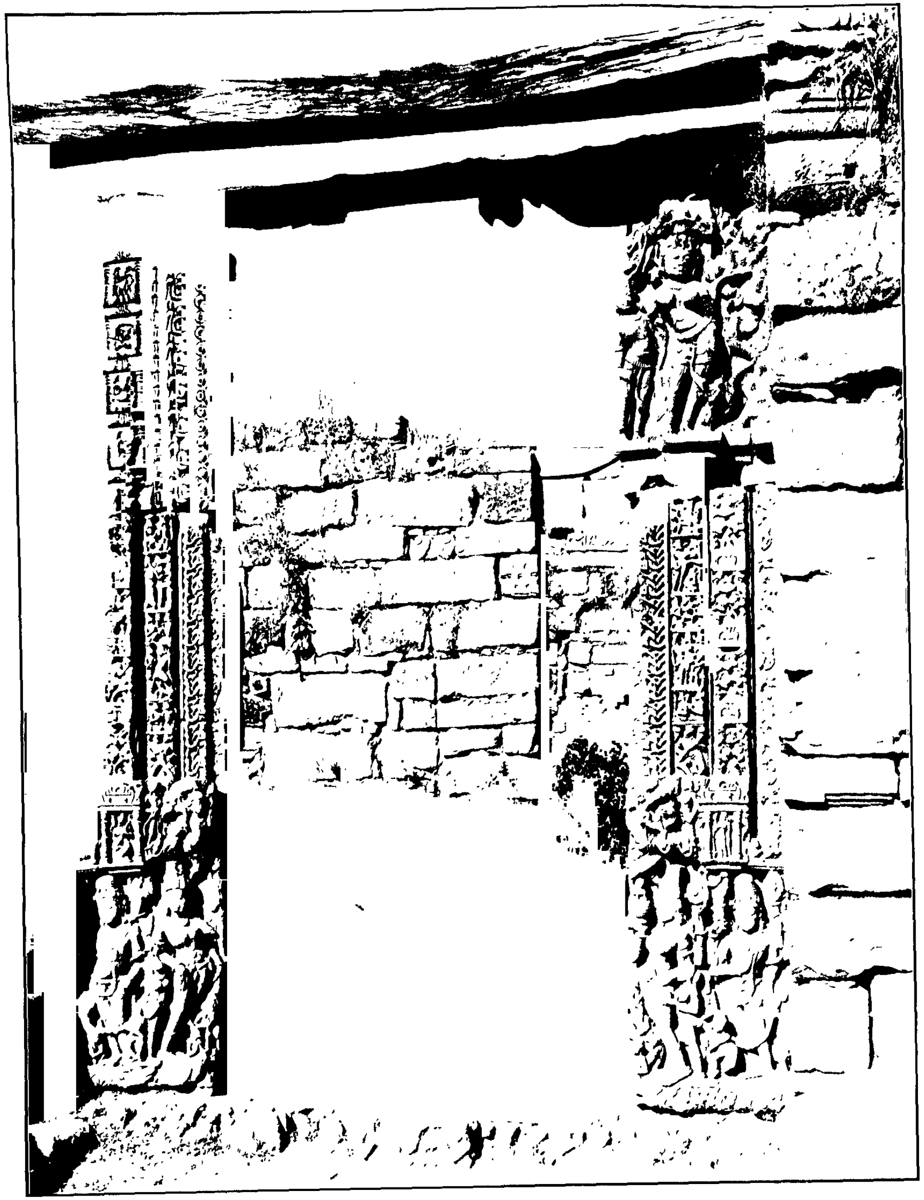
UNKNOWN BASRELIEF
FROM THE THAKUR'S PALACE, SOHAGPUR.

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta 1921



UNKNOWN BASRELIEF.
FROM THE THAKUR'S PALACE, SOHAGPUR.

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1924



(a) GATE WAY OF THE THAKUR'S PALACE, SOHAGPUR



(b) SESHASAYIN FROM MARAI.

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta 1921

PLATE XLVI



(a) REVANTA, FROM MANORA.



(b) FRAGMENT FROM THE BACK-SLAB OF A JAINA IMAGE-JURA

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 192[illegible]

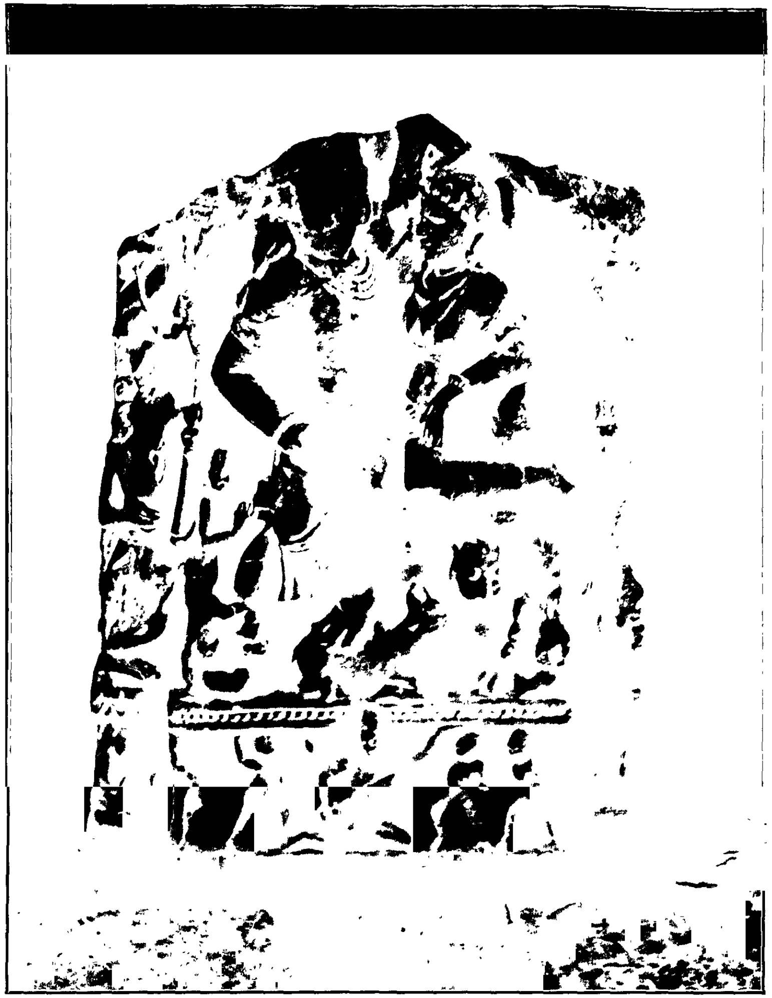


(a) SIVA DURGA FROM MARAI

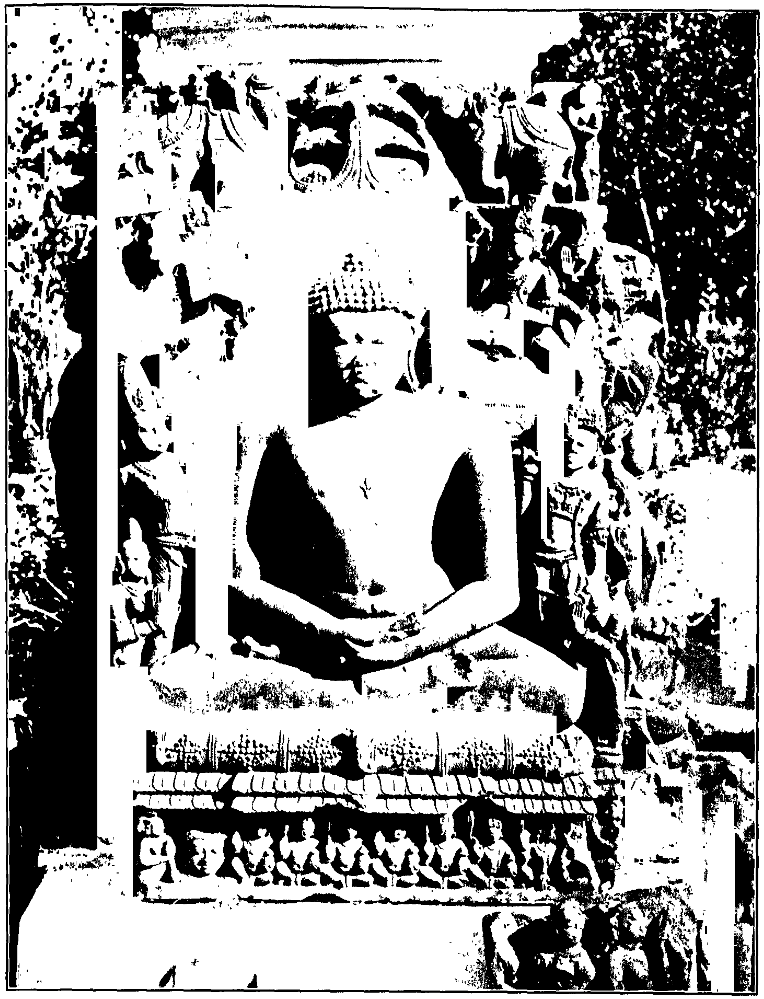


(b) GANESA FROM AMARPATAN.

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta 192[illegible]



(a) SIVA-DURGA FROM SOHAGPUR.



(b) JAINA IMAGE, CURSETJEE'S BUNGALOW JUBBULPUR.

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta

Plate XLIX



(a) Statues of Narayana and Sagara, Amarkantak.

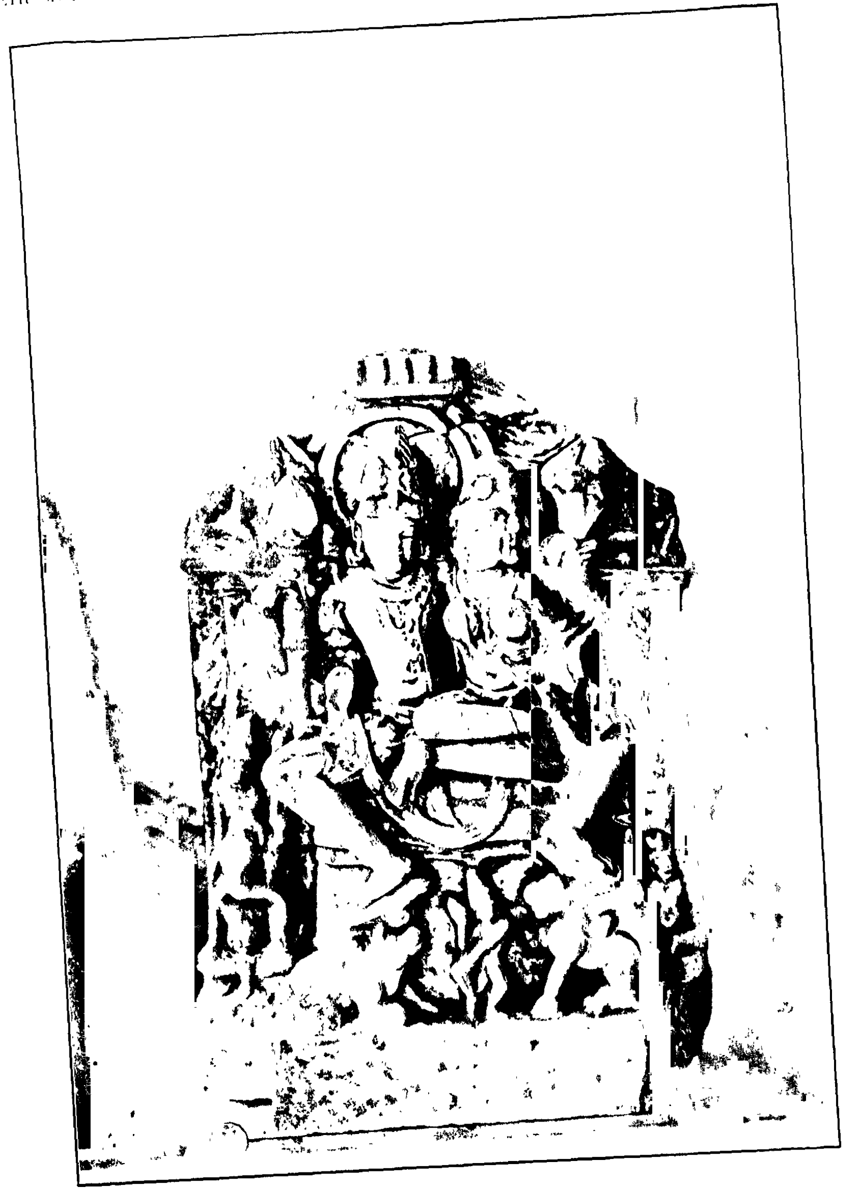


(b) Image of Vishnu in Temple of Kesavanarayana, Amarkantak.

PLATE L.



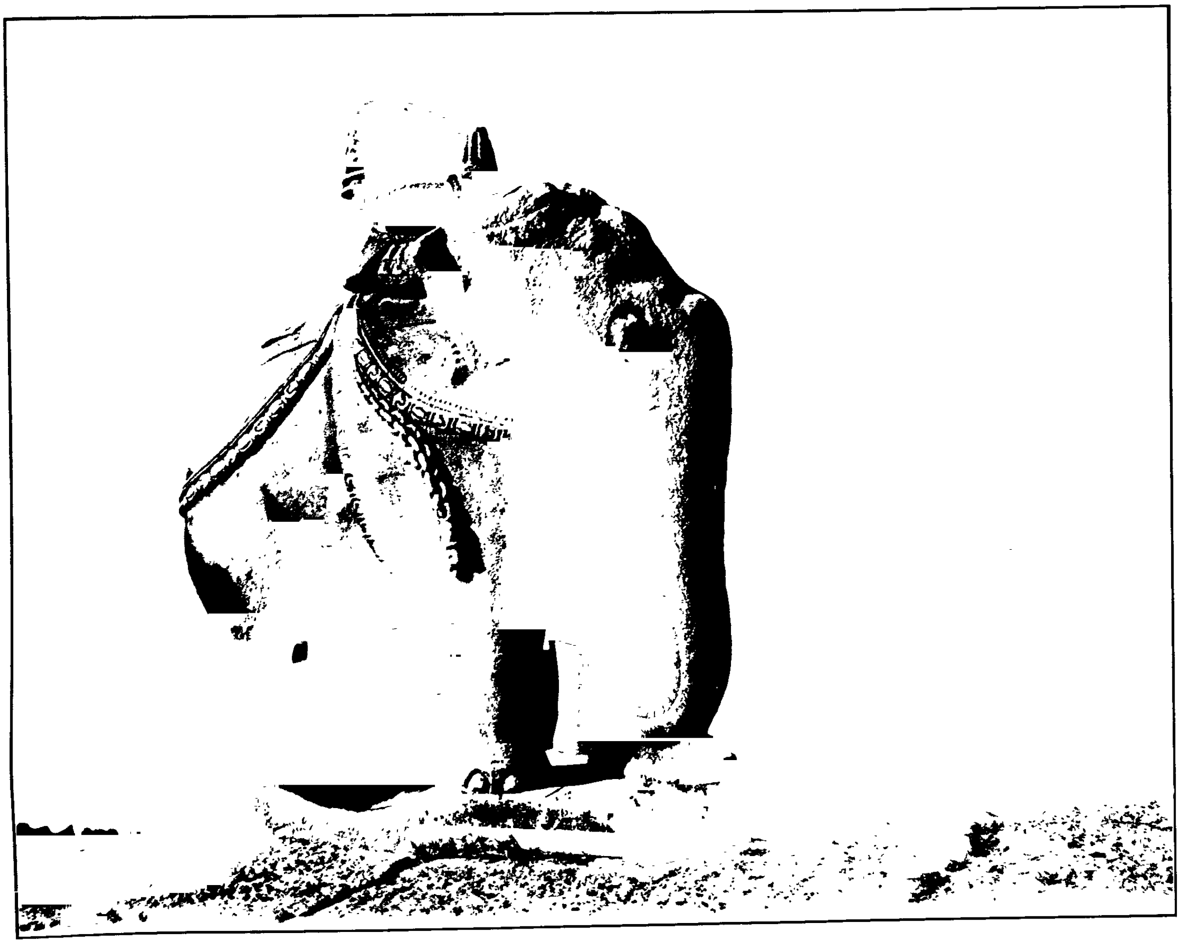
(a) VISHNU.



(b) SIVA-DURGA.

DUDHIA.

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 192-



(a) Elephant rider.



(b) Horseman.
Amarkantak.

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta

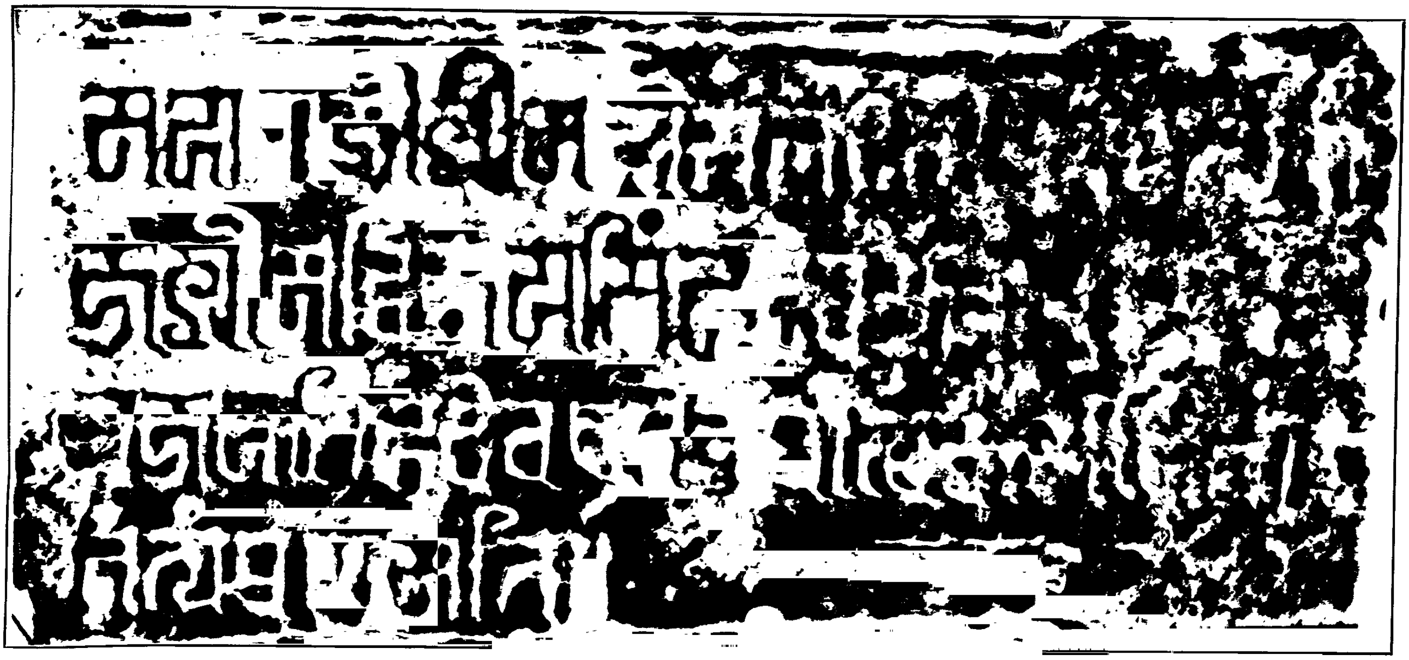


(a) IMAGE OF NARMMADA, AMARKANTAK

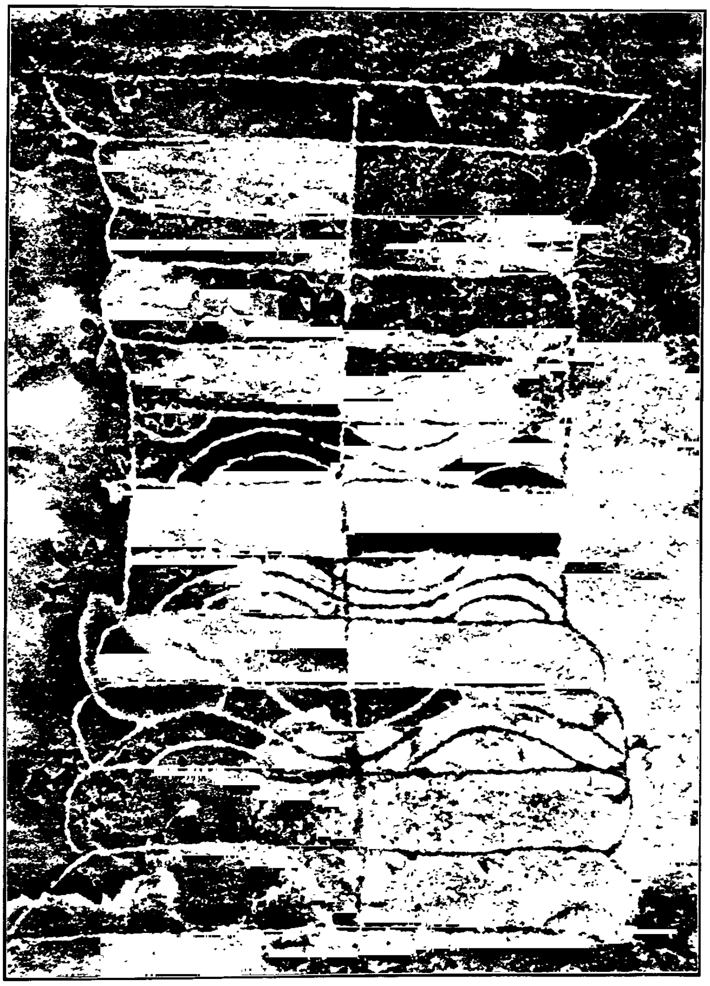


(b) JAIN IMAGE FROM BAHURIBAND.

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 19..

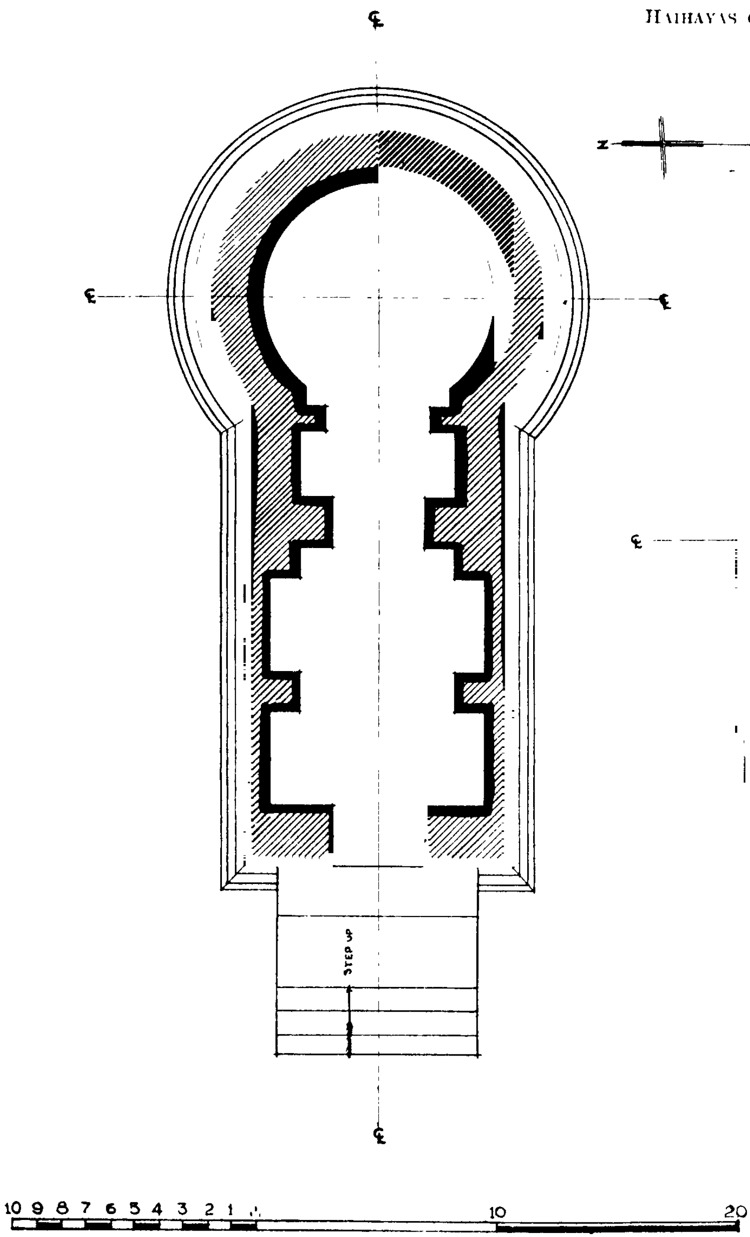


(a) INSCRIPTION OF QUEEN GOSALA ON RIGHT JAMB OF DOOR OF THE TEMPLE OF GAURISANKARA AT BHERAGHAT

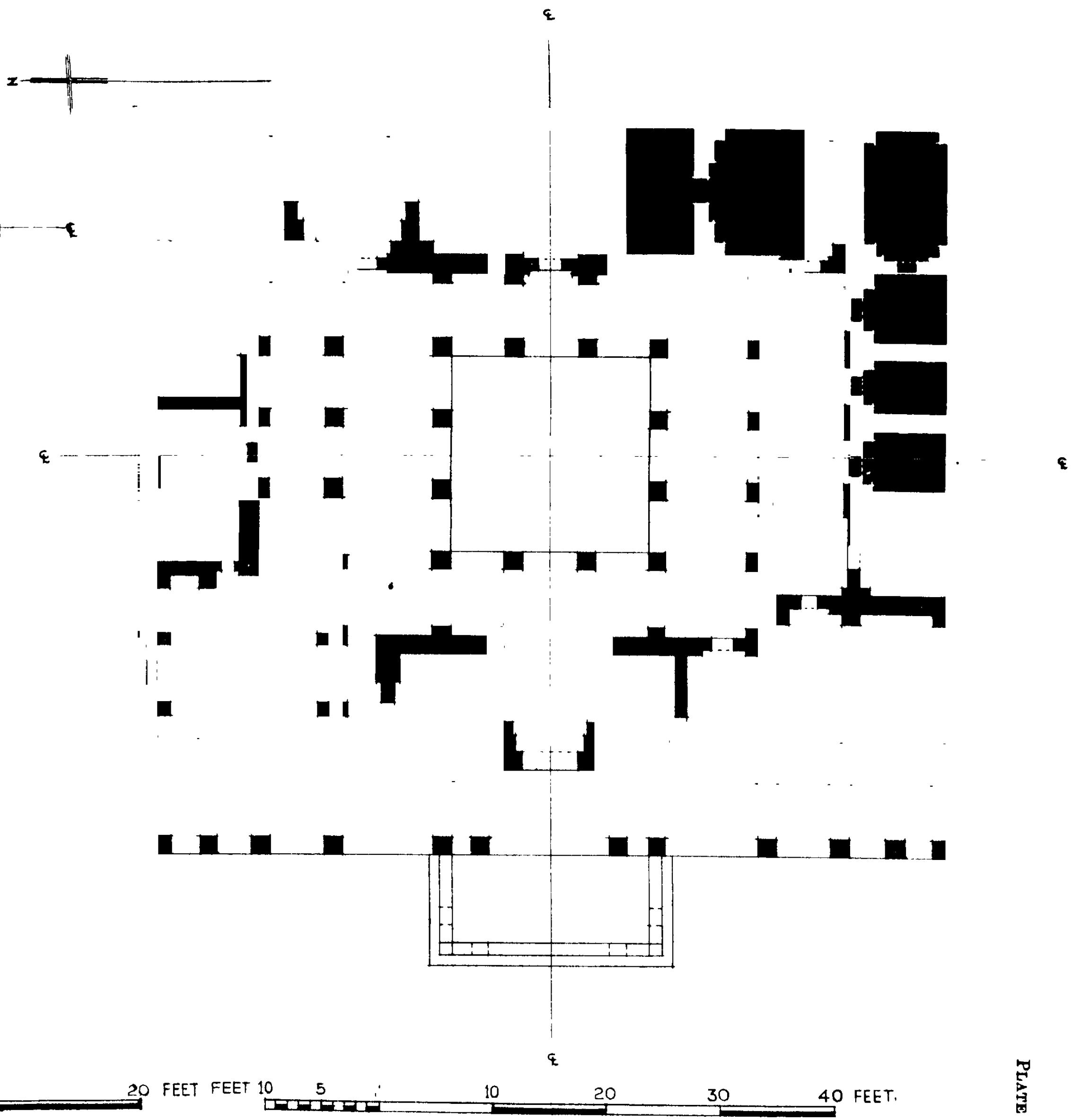


(b) FIRE ALTAR ON LAL PAHAR HILL.

PLATE LIV.



(a) PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF SIVA AT GURGI-MASAUN. (REWA STATE.)

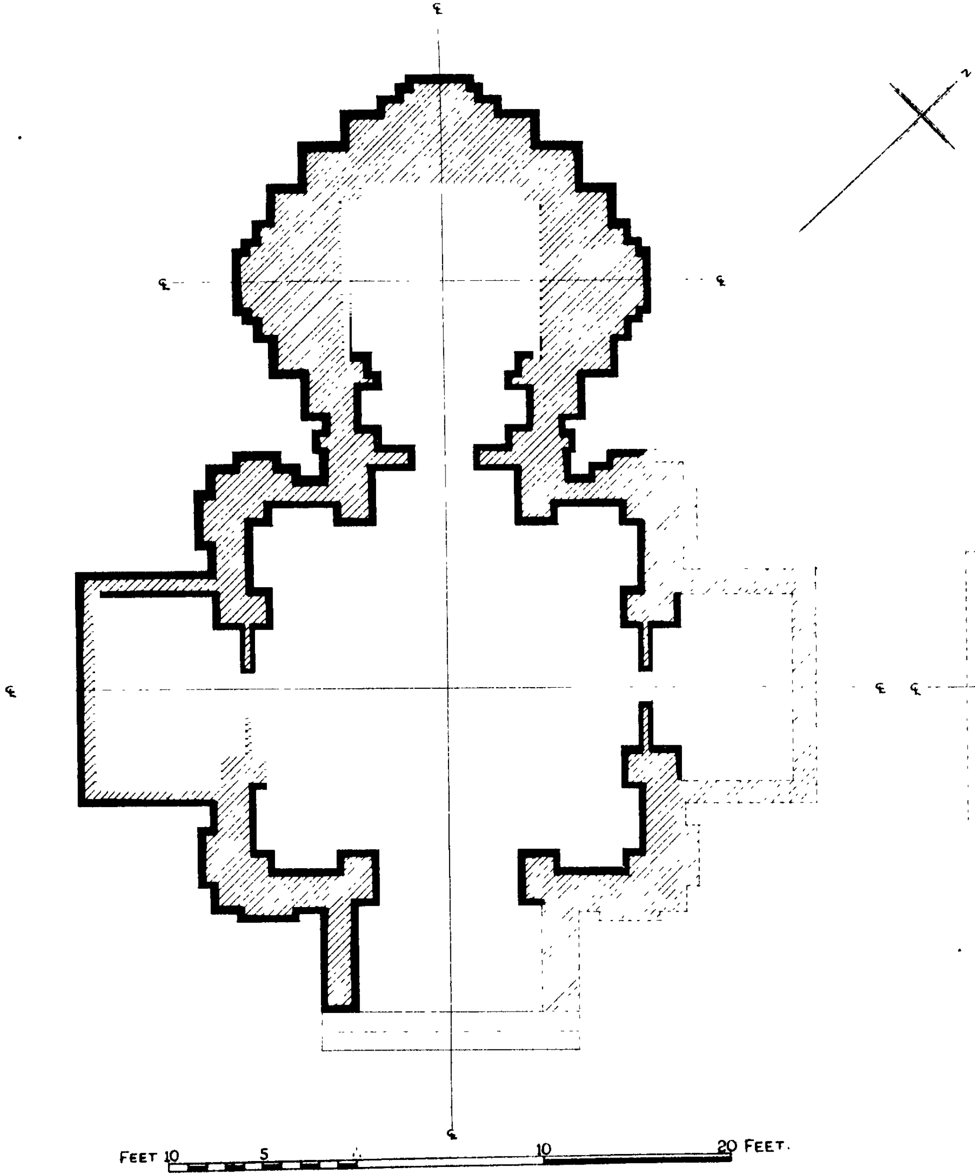


(b) PLAN OF SIVA MONASTERY AT CHANDREHE (REWA STATE.)

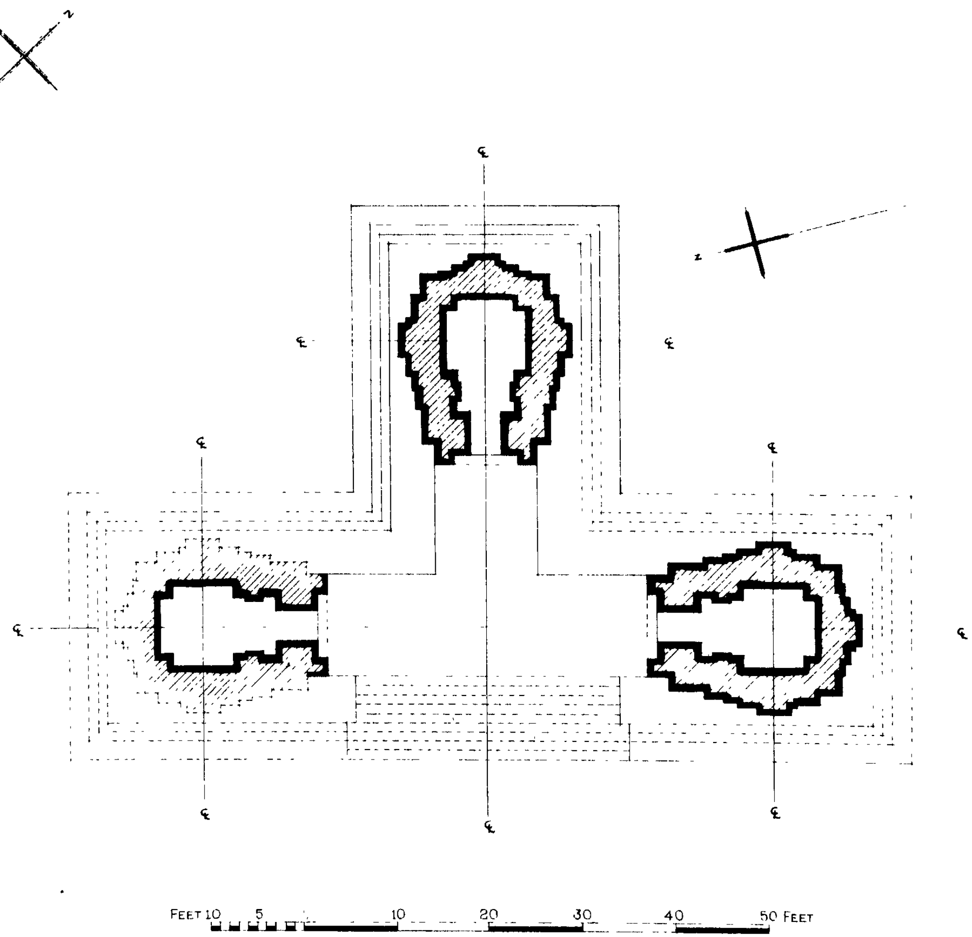
REG NO 3533 E. 24 - 503

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PLATE LV.



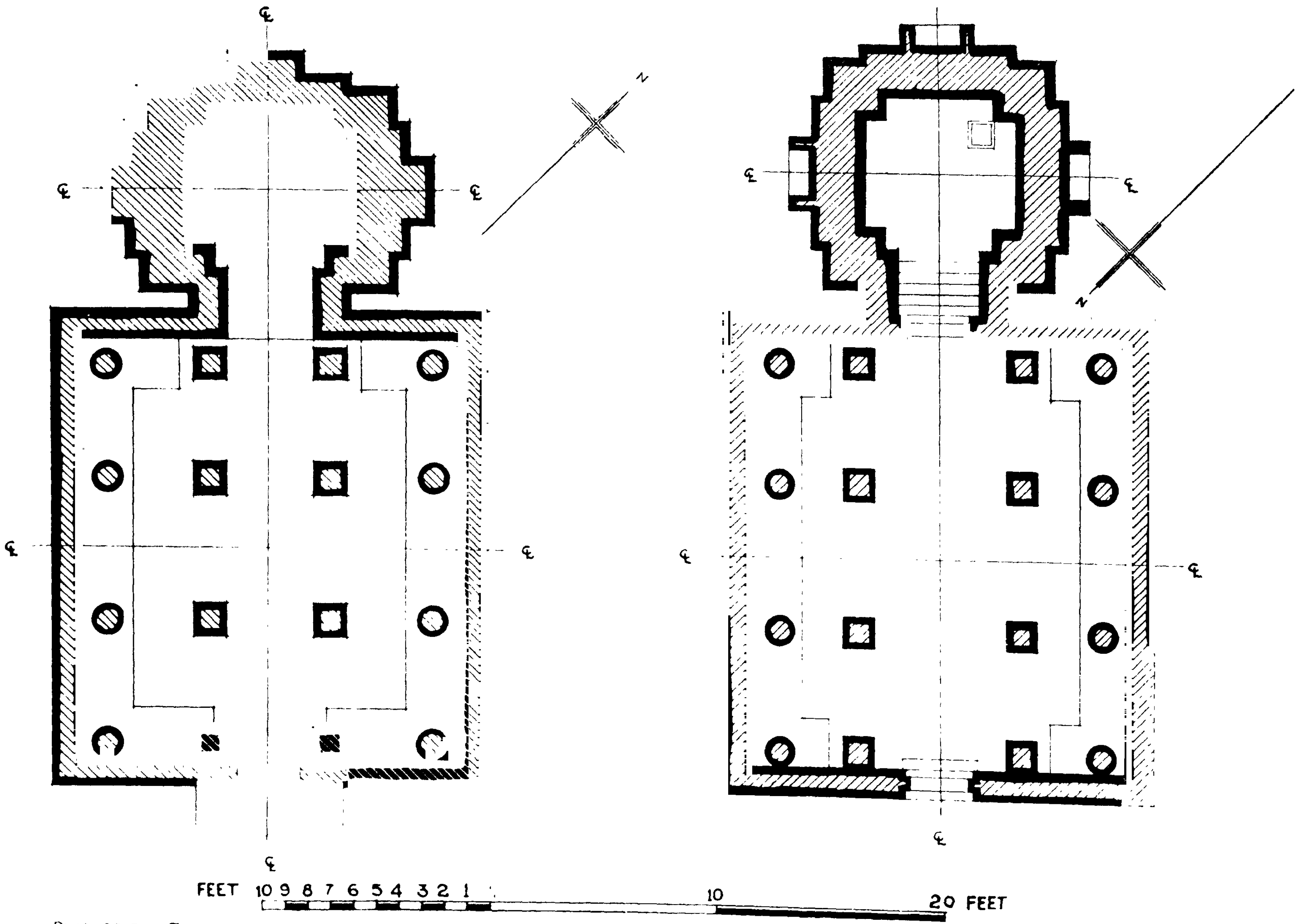
(a) PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF VIRATESVARA-SIVA AT SOHAGPUR (REWA STATE)



(b) PLAN OF THE TRIPLE-SHRINED TEMPLE OF KARNNA AT AMARKANTAK (REWA STATE)

Reg. No. 3538 E 24-503

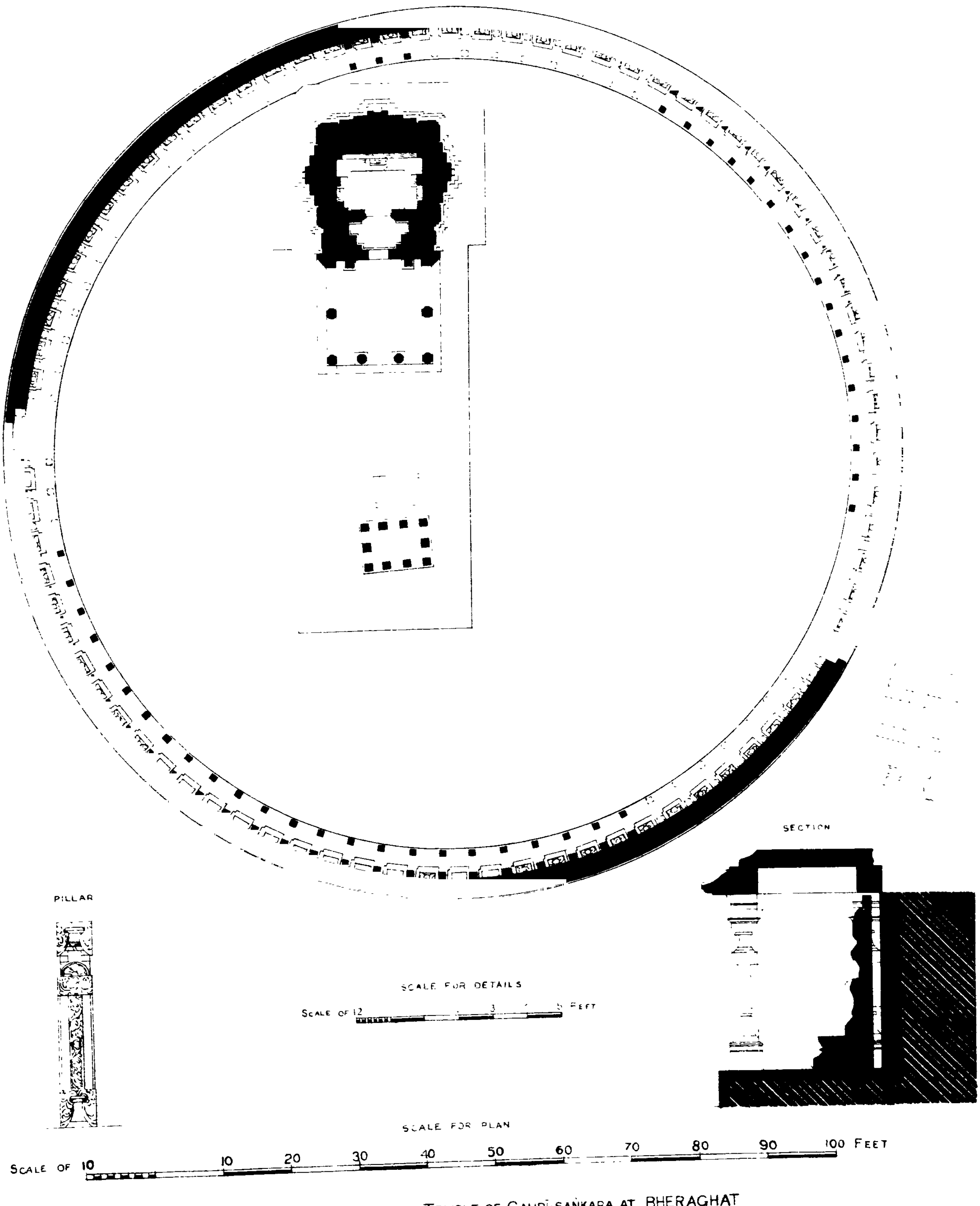
HELIO S I O, CALCUTTA.



([illegible]) PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF MACHEHHENDRANATH AT AMARKANTAK (REWA STATE.)

([illegible]) PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF PATALESVARA AT AMARKANTAK (REWA STATE.)

[illegible] S. I. O., Calcutta



Plan of the Circular Temple and Temple of Gauri-sankara at Bheraghat